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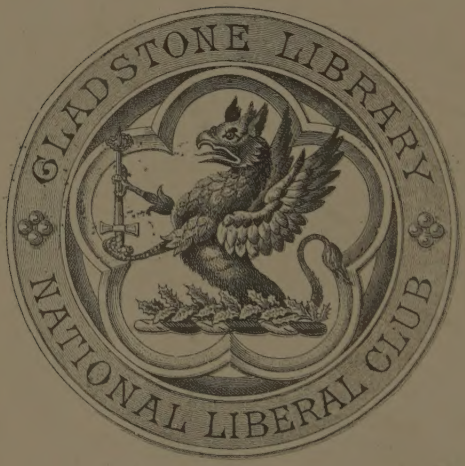

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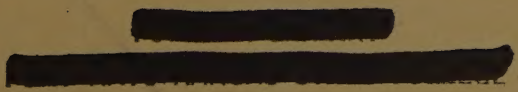

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM

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A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM

BY
S. F. MARKHAM
M.A.(Oxon.), B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., M.P., C.C.

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PREFACE

I AM deeply indebted to the Publishers of this work, Messrs. A. & C. Black Ltd., for their kind permission to make unrestricted use of Thomas Kirkup's *History of Socialism*, first published in 1895, and subsequently revised by Mr. E. R. Pease in 1913.

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S. F. M.

September 1930.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
I.	THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN ENGLISH SOCIALISM	1
II.	SOCIALISM IN FRANCE, 1800–1850	14
III.	KARL MARX AND THE INTERNATIONAL, 1848–1867	31
IV.	LASSALLE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (1848–1865)	56
V.	GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1865–1914	75
VI.	SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM IN RUSSIA, 1840–1914	94
VII.	ENGLISH SOCIALISM, 1850–1914	110
VIII.	FRANCE, ITALY, AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (1871–1914)	129
IX.	SOCIALISM IN MINOR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1870–1914	138
X.	THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL	145
XI.	SOCIALISM AND THE GREAT WAR	153
XII.	THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917–1930	175
XIII.	SEMI-SOCIALIST EUROPEAN STATES, 1919–1930	188
XIV.	SOCIALISM IN FRANCE, 1919–1930, AND GREAT BRITAIN, 1919–1930	212
XV.	NON-SOCIALIST EUROPEAN STATES, 1914–1930	224
XVI.	THE POST-WAR INTERNATIONALS	237
XVII.	THE UNITED STATES	252
XVIII.	CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA	259

CHAP. PAGE
XIX. Socialism in Asia 262
XX. Socialism in the British Commonwealth . 268
XXI. A General View of Socialism . . . 291
APPENDIX I. The Gotha Programme, 1875 . . 309
,, II. The Erfurt Programme, 1891 . 312
,, III. The British Labour Party's Programme, 1929. . . . 317
INDEX 323

A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM

CHAPTER I

The Beginnings of Modern English Socialism

THE fundamental driving force of modern socialism is the idea, however variously expressed, that democratic principles should be applied to economic affairs. Socialism desires that the ownership and management of land, capital, and public services should be placed under social control, instead of being in the hands of individual capitalists or joint-stock companies "with neither a body to be kicked or a soul to be damned." It is a school of political thought that has its exponents in every civilised country, that daily gains new adherents, and increases every year in power and legislative force.

In thus maintaining that society should assume the management of industry and secure an equitable distribution of its fruits, and so abolish social class, socialists are agreed; but on the most important points of detail they differ considerably. They disagree as to the form society will take in carrying out the socialist programme, as to the relation of local bodies to the central government—if indeed there is to be a central government—as to what may be regarded as an equitable system of distribution, and a hundred other points. The history of these differences, together with the story of the socialists' climb to power and what they have done when in power, is the history of socialism.

It is needless to say also that the theories of socialism vary so as to agree or conflict with almost every known form of

philosophy or religion. Much historic socialism is rightly regarded as Utopian, as chimeric, as "such stuff as dreams are made of"; much of it also is practical Christianity, the sincere desire to give whole-hearted service to the cause of humanity; but it must also be added that much of the prevailing socialism of the day is frankly materialistic. In any event socialism, while mainly economic, carries with it a change in the political, ethical, and artistic arrangements and institutions of society which would constitute a revolution greater than has ever taken place in human history, greater than the transition from the ancient to the mediæval world, or from the latter to the existing order of society.

It is amazing that such a tremendous idea for the changing of the whole order of civilisation should have had no great original exponent. Spence, Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier were perhaps the first, but little account is taken of their work nowadays.

Thomas Spence may be described as the first modern socialist: he flickered and glowed in Newcastle and London a century and a half ago. Born on 21st June 1750, this son of a Scottish netmaker and shoemaker flourished at the time when the gentry of England were rapidly seizing the common lands, the heritage of the villages, and turning them into their own preserves. It was a dispute over one of these enclosures or common land rights at Newcastle that led Spence to study the land question and subsequently to evolve a scheme for the municipalisation of land. His pamphlet, *The Meridian Sun of Liberty*, first appeared in London in 1793—Spence being his own pamphlet seller at a bookstall in Holborn. Such activities were not unnaturally distasteful to the authorities, and of the next year he spent six months in Newgate Gaol. Seven years later we find him again in prison—this time for seditious libel in connection with his pamphlet, *The Restorer of Society to its Natural State*. Thirteen years later he died. For some time a small band of admirers, "The Society of Spencean Philanthropists," kept his memory green, but his real influence was with H. M. Hyndman a century later, when land nationalisation

became a plank in the platform of the British Socialist Party.[1]

It was while Spence lived and wrote that there came into being in England a far greater evil than the enclosure of common lands—the evil of an unbridled capitalist system. It was the horrors and degradation caused by this system that led men of greater intellect and ability than Spence to consider and to strive for what is now known as socialism.

The modern capitalist system—sometimes called the competitive system—began with the application of steam power to industry towards the end of the eighteenth century. The clever, the selfish, and the ingenious saw in the new development unlimited opportunities for making money, and before the nineteenth century was many years old there had sprung up, in parts of England, Scotland, and Wales, industrial towns in which squalor, depression, and misery were unequalled by anything in history. The introduction of the capitalist system undoubtedly brought wealth and other benefits to England, but the industrial worker's share in them was negligible : he was voteless, ignorant, wretched, and mercilessly overworked. Even the right of combination was denied him until 1824. Nor were the peasantry any better off : their wages were miserably low, and they were practically landless serfs. All these permanent causes of mischief were aggravated by special causes connected with the Napoleonic Wars, which are well known. Pauperism had become a grave national question, and the old English Poor Law was only a doubtful part of an evil system.

If the conditions of the *men* working in the factories were bad, those of the women and children were infinitely worse. In the mines, women and young girls, wearing only trousers, with a belt round their waists from which a chain passed between their legs, were utilised as truck haulers. In the factories young children worked for fifteen, sixteen, and even

[1] See H. M. Hyndman's *The Nationalisation of the Land in 1775 and 1882* ; Davenport's *Life, Writings, and Principles of Thomas Spence* (London, 1836) ; and Harriet Martineau's *England during the Thirty Years' Peace.*

eighteen hours a day in "brisk time," for just over three shillings per week. And these were not children of twelve or thirteen years of age, but poor helpless little mites of five or six years and upwards. Such hours of work nowadays would be condemned as impossible for a man in the prime of life; but in the full liberty of the capitalist system, British working men, women, and children were treated worse than beasts of burden. Picture these children as they came home from their work, where they had been kept awake by the strap, by floggings, and other cruelties. Released from work they tried to totter home, but unable to endure any more, were found fast asleep in the ditches into which they tumbled! Imbecile and pauper children were legitimate machine fodder, and it is small wonder that the death-rate among these poor unfortunates was terribly high. Destitute as they so often were of parental protection and oversight, with both sexes huddled together under immoral and unsanitary conditions, it was only to be expected that these children should fall into the worst habits, and that in their turn their offspring should, to such a lamentable degree, be vicious, improvident, and physically degenerate. And Christian England endured this state of affairs for almost half a century with scarce a protest!

These facts are not horrors invented by socialist orators to make sob-stuff for political platforms; they are related coldly, without prejudice, in the Report of the Committee on Factory Children's Labour, published in 1831–2: they are unchallengeable and unchallenged. Another report of a Royal Commission in 1842 again revealed that the coal and cotton fortunes of Lancashire and Yorkshire were still being built up out of the inhumanely sweated labour of women and young children, while a further report on trades and manufacture in 1843 forced the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, to bring in a Bill to limit the labour of "young persons" to twelve hours a day. The young Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury) fought strenuously for ten hours a day against not only Peel, the Prime Minister—a manufacturer's son, who calmly announced that unless twelve hours were accepted he would resign—but also against Cobden and Bright.

The capitalist system in England prospered through the tears and sufferings of little children, in the midst of an appalling immorality which it had helped to create. It may be asked why the mothers and fathers of these young girls and younger children did not protest: the answer is that the fathers had been put out of work by their own children and that they were dependent upon the earnings of the children for their daily bread. Those with large families were reckoned to be fortunate, and the population of England and Wales increased from 8,892,000 in 1801, to 15,914,000 in 1841, in order that the factories of England might have adequate child labour.[1] Mammon reigned supreme—the capitalist system was in full swing; the growing wealth and population of England testified to its economic success.

Meanwhile, the industrial revolution had slowly spread to France and Germany. Here the sequence of events followed those in England. Factories were started. Women, girls, and boys of tender years were herded into them and paid a miserable pittance for exhausting hours of soul-destroying toil. Here again the death-rate and the toll of maimed and crippled was appalling.

In this welter of squalor, inhumanity, and physical cruelty, modern socialism[2] found its first capable, if somewhat fantastic, exponent in the person of a Welshman, Robert Owen. Born in 1771, the son of a Newtown saddler and ironmonger, this fearless philanthropist became at nineteen years of age the manager of a Manchester cotton mill in which five hundred people were employed. Owen soon made this mill the best of its kind, and achieved remarkable improvements in the quality of the cotton spun. Early in his twenties he was probably the foremost cotton spinner in England—a position entirely due to his own capacity and knowledge of the trade, as he had found the mill in no well-ordered condition and was left to organise it on his own responsibility.

A few years later Owen, now manager and one of the

[1] The most prolific period was from 1811 to 1821, when the population increased at the rate of 18 per cent.

[2] There is, of course, state socialism in the *Republic* of Plato, but this work treats only of modern socialism.

partners of the Chorlton Twist Company at Manchester, made his first acquaintance with the girl who subsequently became his wife—Miss Dale, the daughter of the proprietor of the New Lanark mills. Owen induced his partners to purchase the New Lanark mills outright, and after his marriage in 1800 settled there as manager and part owner of the mills.

It was now that Owen resolved to put into wholesale practice those principles of benevolent paternalism which he had tried at Manchester. The employees in the Manchester factory had been well treated according to the standard then existing, but at New Lanark Owen decided to go much further. In his new factory there were about two thousand operatives, of whom five hundred were children, mostly brought at the age of five and six from the poorhouses and charities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Owen promptly set himself to improve the moral and material welfare of this population. Order, cleanliness, temperance, and thrift were encouraged, and he devoted special attention to the education of the children, creating the first infant schools in Great Britain. In all these plans Owen obtained the most gratifying success. Though at first regarded with suspicion as a stranger, he soon won the confidence of his people. The mills continued to prosper commercially, but it is needless to say that some of Owen's schemes involved considerable expense, which was displeasing to his partners. Wearied at last of the restrictions imposed on him by men who wished to conduct the business on the ordinary principles, Owen, in 1813, formed a new firm, whose members, content with 5 per cent. of return for their capital, would be ready to give freer scope to his philanthropy. In this firm Jeremy Bentham and the well-known Quaker, William Allen, were partners.

In the same year Owen first appeared as an author of essays, in which he expounded the principles on which his system of educational philanthropy was based. The chief points in this philosophy were that man's character is made not *by* him but *for* him ; that it has been formed by circumstances over which he has no control ; that he is not a proper subject either of praise or blame—these principles leading up to the practical conclusion that the great secret in the right

formation of man's character is to place him under the proper influences, physical, moral, and social, from his earliest years. These principles, of the irresponsibility of man and of the effect of early influences, are the keynote of Owen's whole system of education and social amelioration, and he embodied them in his first work, *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character*, the first of these four essays being published in 1813. It is needless to say that Owen's views theoretically belong to a very old system of philosophy, and that his originality is to be found only in his benevolent application of them.

For the next few years Owen's work at New Lanark continued to have a national and even a European significance. New Lanark itself became a much-frequented place of pilgrimage for social reformers, statesmen, and royal personages, amongst whom was Nicholas, afterwards Emperor of Russia. According to the unanimous testimony of all who visited it, the results achieved by Owen were singularly good. The manners of the children, brought up under his system, were graceful and unconstrained; health, plenty, and contentment prevailed; drunkenness was almost unknown, and illegitimacy was extremely rare. The most perfect good-feeling subsisted between Owen and his workpeople; all the operations of the mill proceeded with the utmost smoothness and regularity; and the business still enjoyed great prosperity.

As yet, however, Owen was not a socialist; he was a philanthropic capitalist, whose great distinction was the originality and the unwearying unselfishness of his methods. It was not until 1817, when the general misery and stagnation of trade consequent on the termination of the Napoleonic Wars were engrossing the attention of the country, that he first embodied his socialistic views in a written document, this being a report communicated to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law. In this document Owen, after clearly tracing the special causes connected with the war which had led to such a deplorable state of things, pointed out that the permanent cause of distress was to be found in the competition of human labour with machinery, and that

the only effective remedy was the united action of men and the subordination of machinery.

His proposals for the treatment of pauperism were based on these principles. He recommended that communities of from five hundred to three thousand should be settled on spaces of land of from 1000 to 1500 acres, all living in one large building in the form of a square, with public kitchens and mess-rooms. Each family should have its own private apartments, and the entire care of the children till the age of three, after which they should be educated and brought up by the community, their parents having access to them at meals and all other proper times. These communities might be established by individuals, by parishes, by counties, or by the State; in every case there should be effective supervision by duly qualified persons. Work, and the enjoyment of its results, should be in common. Such a community, while mainly agricultural, should possess all the best machinery, should offer every variety of employment, and should, as far as possible, be self-contained. In other words, his communities were intended to be self-dependent units, which should provide the best education and the constant exercise of unselfish intelligence, should unite the advantages of town and country life, and should correct the monotonous activity of the factory with the freest variety of occupation, while utilising all the latest improvements in industrial technique. "As these townships," as he also called them, "should increase in number, unions of them federatively united shall be formed in circles of tens, hundreds, and thousands," till they should embrace the whole world in one great republic with a common interest.

His plans for the cure of pauperism were received with great favour. *The Times* and the *Morning Post*, and many of the leading men of the country, countenanced them; one of his most steadfast friends was the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. He had, indeed, gained the ear of the country, and had the prospect before him of a great career as a social reformer, when he went out of his way, at a large meeting in London, to declare his hostility to all the received forms of religion. After this defiance to the religious senti-

ment of the country, Owen's theories were in the popular mind associated with infidelity, and were henceforward suspected and discredited.

Owen's own confidence, however, remained unshaken, and he was anxious that his scheme for establishing a community should be tested. At last, in 1825, such an experiment was attempted, under the direction of his disciple, Abram Combe, at Orbiston, near Glasgow; and in the same year, Owen himself commenced another at New Harmony, in Indiana, America. After a trial of about two years, both failed completely. Neither of them was a pauper experiment; but it must be said that the members were of the most motley description, many worthy people of the highest aims being mixed with vagrants, adventurers, and crotchety, wrong-headed enthusiasts.

After a long period of friction with William Allen and some of his other partners, Owen, after his return from America, resigned all connection with New Lanark in 1828. Most of his means having been sunk in the New Harmony experiment, he was no longer a flourishing capitalist, but the head of a vigorous propaganda, in which socialism and secularism were combined. One of the most interesting features of the movement at this period was the establishment, in 1832, of an equitable labour exchange system, in which exchange was effected by means of labour notes, the usual means of exchange and the usual middlemen being alike superseded.

It was now that the word "socialism" came into use. It appears to have been first used in the *Poor Man's Guardian* in 1833. In 1835, a society, which received the grandiloquent name of the Association of all Classes of all Nations, was founded under the auspices of Robert Owen; and the words "socialist" and "socialism" became current during the discussions which arose in connection with it.[1] As Owen and his school had little esteem for the political reform of the time, and laid all emphasis on the necessity of social improvement and reconstruction, it is obvious how the name came to be recognised as suitable and distinctive. The term

[1] Holyoake, *History of Co-operation*, vol. i. p. 210, ed. 1875.

was soon afterwards borrowed by a distinguished French writer, Reybaud, in his well-known work, the *Réformateurs modernes*, in which he discussed the theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen. Through Reybaud it soon gained wide currency on the Continent, and it is now the accepted name for the most remarkable movement of modern times.

Meanwhile, the Reform Bill of 1832 had been passed: it brought the middle class into power, and by the exclusion of the workmen emphasised their existence as a separate class, and their discontent found its expression in Chartism. As is obvious from the contents of the Charter, Chartism was most prominently a demand for political reform and not a socialist movement; but both in its origin and in its ultimate aim the movement was essentially economic. From the socialist point of view, the interest of this movement lies greatly in the fact that in its organs the doctrine of "surplus value," afterwards elaborated by Marx as the basis of his system, is broadly and emphatically enunciated. Briefly, the doctrine of "surplus value" is that while the worker produces all the wealth, he is obliged to content himself with the meagre share necessary to support his existence, and the surplus goes to the capitalists, who, with the king, the priests, the lords, and gentlemen, live upon the labour of the working man.[1]

During these years, Owen's secularistic teaching gained such influence among the working classes as to give occasion, in 1839, for the statement in the *Westminster Review* that his principles were the actual creed of a great portion of them.

At this period Owen made some more communal experiments, of which the most important were those at Ralahine, in Ireland, and at Tytherly, in Hampshire. It is admitted that the former, which was established in 1839, was a remarkable success for three and a half years, till the proprietor who had granted the use of the land, having ruined himself by gambling, was obliged to sell out. Tytherly, begun in 1839, was an absolute failure. By 1846 the only permanent result of Owen's agitation, so zealously carried on by public

[1] *Poor Man's Guardian*, 1835.

meetings, pamphlets, periodicals, and occasional treatises, was the co-operative movement, and for the time even that seemed to have utterly collapsed. In his later years Owen became a firm believer in spiritualism. He died in 1858 at his native town, at the age of eighty-seven.

The causes of Owen's failure in establishing his communities are obvious enough. Apart from the difficulties inherent in socialism, he injured the social cause by going out of his way to attack the historic religions and the accepted views on marriage, by his tediousness, quixotry, and overconfidence, by refusing to see that for the mass of men measures of transition from an old to a new system must be adopted. If he had been true to his earlier methods and retained the autocratic guidance of his experiments, the chances of success would have been greater. Above all, Owen had too great faith in human nature, and he did not understand the laws of social evolution. He thought that he could break the chain of continuity, and as by magic create a new set of circumstances, which would forthwith produce a new generation of rational and unselfish men. The time was too strong for him, and the current of English history swept past him.

Even a very brief account of Owen, however, would be incomplete without indicating his relation to Malthus, who, in his famous *Essay on Population* (1798), had argued that the growth of the population must always press closely on the means of subsistence, and so cause widespread and acute poverty. Against Malthus, Owen showed that the wealth of the country had, in consequence of mechanical improvement, increased out of all proportion to the population. The problem, therefore, was not to restrict population, but to institute rational social arrangements and to secure a fair distribution of wealth—a truly socialistic theory. Whenever the number of inhabitants in any of his communities increased beyond the maximum, new communities should be created, until they should extend over the whole world. The period would probably never arrive when the earth would be full; but, if it should, the human race would be good, intelligent, and rational, and would know much better than the present

irrational generation how to provide for the occurrence. Such was Owen's socialistic treatment of the population problem.

Robert Owen was essentially a pioneer, whose work and influence it would be unjust to measure by their tangible results. Apart from his socialistic theories, it should, nevertheless, be remembered that he was one of the foremost and most energetic promoters of many movements of acknowledged and enduring usefulness. He was the founder of infant schools in England; he was the first to introduce reasonably short hours into factory labour, and he zealously promoted factory legislation—one of the most needed and most beneficial reforms of the century; he was, above all, one of the founders of the co-operative movement. In general education, in sanitary reform, and in his sound and humanitarian views of common life, he was far in advance of his time.

Still, he had many serious faults; all that was quixotic, crude, and superficial in his views became more prominent in his later years, and by the extravagance of his advocacy of them he did grave injury to the cause he had at heart. In his personal character he was without reproach—frank, benevolent, and straightforward to a fault; and he pursued the altruistic schemes in which he spent all his means with more earnestness than most men devote to the accumulation of a fortune.

Before Owen's death in 1858 there had begun in England the Christian Socialist movement, of which the leaders were the Rev. F. D. Maurice, the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and Mr. Ludlow, the economist. The abortive Chartist demonstration in the April of 1848 excited in Maurice and his friends the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of the English working class—a feeling which was intensified by the revelations regarding "London Labour and London Poor," published in the *Morning Chronicle* of 1849. In *Politics for the People*, the *Christian Socialist*, in *Yeast* and *Alton Locke*, and from the pulpit and the platform, the representatives of the movement exposed the evils of the competitive system, carried on an unsparing warfare against the Manchester school, and main-

tained that socialism, rightly understood, was Christianity applied to social reform. Their labours in insisting on ethical and spiritual principles as the true bonds of society, in promoting associations, and in diffusing a knowledge of co-operation, were largely beneficial. In the north of England they joined hands with the co-operative movement—a partial realisation of the socialistic ideal in that it is production for use. This movement was revived by twenty-eight working men in Rochdale in 1844, who, starting with a capital of £28 raised by weekly subscriptions of 3d., opened a shop where flour, butter, sugar, and oatmeal were sold to members and their families. They hit on the plan of distributing the surplus as a dividend on purchases—a device which, by eliminating profit, harmonised consumers' co-operation with socialism. Their development was as remarkable as their programme, which, in addition to industrial enterprises, included the building of houses, the acquirement of land to provide employment for members, and the establishment of a self-supporting home colony. The co-operation of producers advocated by the Christian Socialists, and to some extent by Robert Owen, was artisan capitalism, which could have no place in any system of socialism, and met with little success; but co-operative distribution has been increasingly and enormously successful.

The Christian Socialist movement, however, left but little mark; and even before the deaths of Maurice in 1872 and Kingsley in 1875, the movement ended without any remarkable achievements to its credit, save that of having once again focused the eyes of England on a few of the evils of the capitalist system as evidenced in one or two sweated trades.

CHAPTER II

Socialism in France, 1800–1850

WHILST England had been experimenting with Owenism, Chartism, Christian Socialism, and the Co-operative movement, France had experimented with a mixture of autocratic socialism and communism that led to the direst results. The earliest exponents of this mixture were Comte Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and François Fourier (1772–1837), who had grown up under the influence of the too-confident optimism of the French Revolution, and believed, like Owen, in the possibilities of human progress and perfectibility.[1]

Saint-Simon, the founder of French socialism, belonged to a younger branch of the family of the celebrated Duke of that name. Ambitious, self-confident, and intellectually bold, he early began to evolve remarkable engineering schemes, one of which was to unite the Atlantic and the Pacific by a canal, and another to construct a canal from Madrid to the sea. He took no part of any importance in the French Revolution, but amassed a small fortune by land speculation, which, however, he lost through his experiments, and for the last decade of his life he was reduced to the greatest straits.

His early works were mostly scientific and political, and it was not until 1817—the year in which Owen first expounded his socialist ideas—that he began, in his treatise, *L'Industrie*, to propound his socialistic views, which he further developed in *L'Organisateur* (1819), *Du Système Industrial* (1821), *Catéchisme des Industriels* (1823), and *Le Nouveau Christianisme* (1825).

As a thinker, Saint-Simon was deficient in system, clearness, and consecutive strength, but his speculations are

[1] The earlier socialists, such as Morelly, have been ignored, owing to the little effect they had on history.

always ingenious and original. His opinions were conditioned by the French Revolution and by the feudal and military system still prevalent in France. In opposition to the destructive liberalism of the Revolution, however, he insisted on the necessity of a new and positive reorganisation of society. His solution, briefly, was an industrial state directed by the industrial chiefs: the men who were best fitted to organise society for productive labour being entitled to rule it, and to secure "the exploitation of the globe by association." "The whole of society," he argued in *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, "ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class; society ought to organise itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end." This principle became the watchword of the school of Saint-Simon, prominent among which were Bazard and Enfantin.

Five years after Saint-Simon's death, the fermentation produced by the revolution of July 1830 brought the movement prominently before the attention of France, but with this modification, that the followers of Saint-Simon protested emphatically against "the exploitation of man by man," and urged that in future the aim must be "the exploitation of the globe by man associated with man." Under the capitalist system, they argued, the industrial chief exploits the proletariat, the members of which, though nominally free, must accept his terms under pain of starvation. This state of things is consolidated by the law of inheritance, whereby the instruments of production, which are private property, and all the attendant social advantages, are transmitted without regard to personal merit. The social disadvantages being also transmitted, misery becomes hereditary. The only remedy for this is the abolition of the law of inheritance, and the union of all instruments of labour in the social fund, which shall be exploited by association. Society thus becomes sole proprietor, entrusting to social groups or social functionaries the management of the various properties. The right of succession is transferred from the family to the State.

The school of Saint-Simon insisted strongly on the claims

of merit; they advocated a social hierarchy in which each man should be placed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his works. This is, indeed, a most special and pronounced feature of the Saint-Simon socialism, whose theory of government is a kind of spiritual or scientific autocracy.

With regard to the family and the relation of the sexes, the school of Saint-Simon advocated the complete emancipation of woman and her entire equality with man. The "social individual" is man and woman, who are associated in the triple function of religion, the state, and the family. In its official declarations the school maintained the sanctity of the Christian law of marriage. On this point, Enfantin, Saint-Simon's principal disciple, fell into a prurient and fantastic latitudinarianism, which made the school a scandal to France; but many of the most prominent members, including Bazard, refused to follow him. This expansion of Saint-Simon's theories led to the decline of the school, and by the early 'forties it had ceased to have any influence worth noting.

Saint-Simon's contemporary, François Marie Charles Fourier, was a remarkable man. Born at Besançon in 1772, he received from his father, a prosperous draper, an excellent education at the academy of his native town. The boy excelled in the studies of the school, and regretfully abandoned them for a business career. His business duties took him abroad to Holland and Germany, where he enlarged his experience of men and things. On his father's death, Fourier inherited a sum of about £3000, with which he started business at Lyons; but he lost all he had in the siege of that city by the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror, was thrown into prison, and narrowly escaped the guillotine. On his release he joined the army for two years, and then returned to his old way of life.

At a very early age Fourier had his attention called to the defects of the prevalent commercial system. When only five years old he had been punished for speaking the truth about certain goods in his father's shop; and at the age of twenty-seven he had, at Marseilles, to superintend the

destruction of an immense quantity of rice held for higher prices during a scarcity of food until it had become unfit for use. The conviction grew within him that a system which involved such abuses and immoralities must be radically evil. Feeling that it was his mission to find a remedy for it, he spent his life in the discovery, elucidation, and propagation of a better order; and he brought to his task a self-denial and singleness of purpose which have seldom been surpassed.

Considered as a purely literary and speculative product, the socialism of Fourier was prior to those both of Owen and Saint-Simon. Fourier's first work, *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*, was published as early as 1808. His system, however, scarcely attracted any attention and exercised no influence till the movements originated by Owen and Saint-Simon had begun to decline.

The socialism of Fourier is in many respects fundamentally different from that of Saint-Simon, who represented the principle of authority, of centralisation; while Fourier made all possible provision for local and individual freedom. With Saint-Simonism the State is the starting-point, the normal and dominant power; in Fourier, power is held by a local body, corresponding to the commune, which he called the *phalange*. In the system of Fourier the *phalange* holds the supreme and central place, other organisations in comparison with it being secondary and subordinate.

The social system of Fourier was the central point in his speculations, although moulded and coloured by his peculiar views on theology, cosmogony, and psychology, which are too involved to be given here. He believed that the speedy passage from social chaos to universal harmony could be accomplished only by one method, by giving to the human passions their natural development. For this end, a complete break with civilisation must be made. We must have new social arrangements suitable to human nature and in harmony with the intentions of the Creator. These Fourier provides in the *phalange*. In its normal form the *phalange* was to consist of four hundred families, or eighteen hundred persons, living on a square league of land, self-contained and self-sufficing for the most part, and combining within

itself the means for the free development of the most varied likings and capacities. It was an institution in which agriculture, industry, the appliances and opportunities of enjoyment, and generally of the widest and freest human development, were to be combined—the interests of the individual freedom and of common union being reconciled in a way hitherto unknown and unimagined.

In such an institution it is obvious that government under the form of compulsion and restraint would be reduced to a minimum. The officials of the *phalange* would be elected, and would freely group themselves into wider combinations with elected chiefs, and the *phalanges* of the whole world would form a great federation with a single elected chief, resident at Constantinople, which would be the universal capital.

The labour of the *phalange* would be conducted on scientific methods; but it would, above all things, be made attractive, by consulting the likings and capacities of the members, by frequent change of occupation, by recourse to the principle of emulation in individuals, groups, and series. On the principle that men and women are eager for the greatest exertion, if only they like the form of it, Fourier bases his theory that all labour can be made attractive by appealing to appropriate motives in human nature. Obviously, also, what is now the most disagreeable labour could be more effectively performed by machinery.

The product of labour was to be distributed in the following manner: Out of the common gains of the *phalange* a very comfortable minimum was assured to every member. Of the remainder, five-twelfths went to labour, four-twelfths to capital, and three-twelfths to talent. In the *phalange* individual capital existed, and inequality of talent was not only admitted, but insisted upon and utilised. In the actual distribution the *phalange* treated with individuals, and individual talent would be rewarded in accordance with the services rendered in the management of the *phalange*, the place of each being determined by election. Labour would be remunerated on a principle entirely different from the present. Hard and common or necessary work should be best paid;

useful work should come next, and pleasant work last of all. In any case, the reward of labour would be so great that every one would have the opportunity of becoming a capitalist.

One of the most notable results of the *phalange* treating with each member individually is, that the economic independence of women would be assured. Even the child of five would have its own share in the product.

The system of Fourier may fairly be described as one of the most ingenious and elaborate Utopias ever devised by the human brain. But in many cardinal points it has been constructed in complete contradiction to all that experience and science have taught us of human nature and the laws of social evolution. Fourier particularly underestimates the force of human egotism. From the beginning progress has consisted essentially in the hard and strenuous repression of the unregenerate residuum within man, whereas he would give it free rein. This applies to his system as a whole, and especially to his theories on marriage. Instead of supplying a sudden passage from social chaos to universal harmony, his system would, after entirely subverting such order as we have, only bring us back to social chaos.

Yet his works are full of suggestion and instruction, and his criticisms of the unbridled capitalist system, of its waste, anarchy, and immorality, are ingenious, searching, and often most convincing. In his positive proposals, too, are to be found some of the most sagacious and far-reaching forecasts of the future landmarks of human progress. Most noteworthy are the guarantees he devised for individual and local freedom. The *phalange* was on the one hand large enough to secure all the benefits of a scientific industry and of a varied common life; on the other, it provides against the evils of centralisation, of State despotism, of false patriotism and national jealousy.

The freedom of the individual and of the minority is, moreover, protected against the possible tyranny of the *phalange* by the existence, under reasonable limits and under social control, of individual capital. This individual capital, further, is perfectly mobile; that is, the possessor of it, if he thinks fit to migrate or go on travel, may remove his capital,

and find a welcome for his labour, talent, and investments in any part of the world.

Fourier has forecast the part to be played in the social and political development of the future by the local body, whether we call it commune, parish, or municipality. The fact that he has given it a fantastic name, and surrounded it with many fantastic conditions, should not hinder us from recognising his great sagacity and originality.

It was chiefly after the decline of the Saint-Simon movement that Fourier gained a hearing and a little success. A small group of enthusiastic adherents gathered round him; a journal was started for the propagation of his views; and in 1832 an attempt was made on lands near Versailles to establish a *phalange*, which, however, proved a total failure.

In 1837 Fourier passed away from a world that showed little inclination to listen to his teaching. A singular altruism in his character was blended with the most sanguine confidence in the possibilities of human progress. His life was a model of simplicity, integrity, kindliness, and disinterested devotion to what he deemed the highest aims.

With Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier, modern socialism really begins, and thereafter it has had a continuous and widening development until socialistic teaching and propaganda have been taken up by one country after another throughout the civilised world. It must be observed, however, that while Owen's new and reasoned theory of society was entirely relative to the industrial revolution, those of Saint-Simon and Fourier were influenced by the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity so prominent during the French Revolution as well as by the conception of the worth and dignity of labour. Whilst Owen had before his eyes the evils of a young but gigantic industrialism, Saint-Simon contemplated the hoary abuses of an idle and privileged feudalism —fearfully shaken, no doubt, by the Revolution, but still strong in Europe, and in France, as elsewhere, powerfully revived during the period after Waterloo. Saint-Simon saw that a new world, an industrial world resting on labour, had arisen, while the old feudal and theological world—*fainéant*

courtiers and a clergy steeped in ignorance—still ruled. All this array of parasites, who had no longer any useful function to perform for society, Saint-Simon sought to replace by the industrial chiefs and scientific leaders as the real working heads of the French people. Only, he expected that these exceptionally gifted men, instead of exploiting the labour of others, would control an industrial France for the general good.

Neither Owen nor Saint-Simon was revolutionary in the ordinary sense. Owen was most anxious that the English and other Governments should adopt his projects of socialistic reform. Leading statesmen and royal personages befriended him. He had no faith in the political reforms of 1832; he reckoned the political side of Chartism as of no account, and he preferred socialistic experiment under autocratic guidance until the workmen should be trained to rule themselves. The same autocratic tendency was very pronounced in Saint-Simon and his school. His first appeal was to Louis XVIII. He wished to supersede the feudal aristocracy by a working aristocracy of merit. His school claim to have been the first to warn the Governments of Europe of the rise of revolutionary socialism. In short, the early socialism arose during the reaction consequent on the wars of the French Revolution, and was influenced by the political tendencies of the time.

The beginning of socialism may thus be dated from 1817, the year when Owen laid his scheme for a socialistic community before the committee of the House of Commons on the poor law, the year also that the speculations of Saint-Simon definitely took a socialistic direction.

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In the years that followed the death of Fourier in 1837, socialism in France began to take a more determined course The accession to power of the middle classes—the "bourgeoisie"—in the 'thirties had the result that socialism now began to be the creed of the "proletariat." Hitherto these two classes had been united against feudalism and reaction, as in England, but there had been a sign of the new development at Lyons in 1831, when the starving workmen rose to arms with the slogan "Live working, or die fighting." During

the following decades, socialism in France had two inspiring men as its protagonists—Louis Blanc (1811–1882), the founder of French Democratic Socialism, and Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), the exponent of anarchy.

Louis Blanc, who belonged to an aristocratic but poor family, early distinguished himself as a brilliant writer. His first socialistic work appeared in 1839, when he published in his journal, the *Revue du Progrés*, his treatise on "*L'Organisation du Travail.*" The greater part of this work is an unsparing denunciation of the evils of the capitalistic system. He saw, however, that these evils would never be abolished by a State in which those who profited by such a system wielded complete power, and he therefore urged that the State should be constituted on a thoroughly democratic basis. Such a State ought then, he argued, to create industrial associations, or national workshops, which would gradually and without shock supersede individual workshops. Once set in motion by the State, these social workshops would be self-supporting and self-governing. The workmen would choose their own managers, would themselves arrange the division of the profits, and would take measures to extend the enterprises commenced. This intervention of a democratic government would, he held, remove the undoubted misery and oppression attendant on the competitive system, and in place of the delusive liberty of *laissez-faire* would establish a real and positive freedom.

With regard to the remuneration of talent and labour, Louis Blanc takes very high ground. "Genius," he says, "should assert its legitimate empire, not by the amount of the tribute which it will levy on society, but by the greatness of the services which it will render." In a subsequent edition of his work, however, he supports the idea that wages should be equal.

In the following year, 1840, Louis Blanc's contemporary, Proudhon, brought out a pamphlet of even greater import. The title was the challenging query, *What is Property?* and his famous answer was the provocative *Property is theft.* Property is theft, he argued, inasmuch as it appropriates the value produced by the labour of others in the

form of rent, interest, and profit, without rendering an equivalent. For property, Proudhon would substitute individual possession, the right of occupation being equal for all men.

This pamphlet was followed in 1846 by his *System of Economic Contradictions*, in which he argued that the real solution of the social problem would be attained not so much by altering the way in which wealth is produced, but by altering the way in which it circulates. For this purpose he urged the establishment of a bank which would exact no discount from its customers.

Both Louis Blanc and Proudhon had an opportunity, though in justice it must be admitted that it was not quite a fair opportunity, of putting their socialistic theories to the test in the year 1848. For several years there had been in France a strong movement in favour of a more democratic suffrage. The frivolous treatment of this demand by the French King led, in the February of 1848, to a sudden rising —the result of which was that he abdicated, and a Provisional Government, of which Lamartine, the poet, was a prominent member, was established in Paris. On the same day, however, the socialists, led by Louis Blanc, Floçon, and Albert, established another Provisional Government in the Hôtel de Ville. The King had fled, two Provisional Governments reigned in his stead. The success of the revolution amazed equally those whom it displaced and those whom it placed in power. For the moment all was chaos; then the two Provisional Governments amalgamated, and Lamartine, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin (a prominent socialist leader), Floçon and Albert, and six others ruled France. The history of the next few months is a pathetic example of how the most ardent and sincere of men, given power, can have their plans twisted, thwarted, and nullified by those more used to the exercise of power. On paper a bold and energetic series of reforms was commenced. The electorate was extended to include nine millions, instead of the previous two hundred thousand; the hours of labour in Paris were reduced to ten per day, though in the provinces they were left at twelve hours; and finally, the national workshops that Louis Blanc had advocated were commenced. On the 27th and 28th

February, a few days after the outbreak of the revolution, decrees were passed instituting these workshops where the unemployed, who had made the revolution, might be set to work, and the rate of pay was fixed at two francs per day. But instead of Louis Blanc being appointed to supervise this child of his own imagination, one of his bitterest enemies, M. Marie, who had no sympathy with the scheme, was placed in charge. All the riff-raff of the streets of Paris, together with many thousands of honest workmen, were put to work levelling barricades, removing dunghills, etc. The first week 5000 were employed. In April, the numbers swelled to 36,000, and a few weeks later they reached the enormous total of 117,000. No effort was made to turn these thousands on to productive work, and the national workshops soon became vast dole-shops, where idlers hung about all day long doing nothing and receiving two francs a day for doing it!

Meanwhile Lamartine, at that moment at the very zenith of his powers, astute, demagogic, and unscrupulous, had side-tracked Louis Blanc into the presidency of a commission to inquire into the condition of the working class. But Louis Blanc, realising the hopeless chaos into which M. Marie had thrown his scheme of national workshops, now (March 1848) began to agitate for the formation of "social workshops"—establishments in which persons of the same industry should be employed together. He condemned the Government establishments as "insensate projects," and he complained loudly that he ought not to be stigmatised as the author of the appalling chaos that resulted from huddling men of all trades together to do jobs for which nine-tenths of them were totally unfitted.

Meanwhile Proudhon, who had regretted the sudden outbreak of the revolution because it found social reformers unprepared, threw himself into the revolution with ardour, and soon gained a national notoriety. He was the moving spirit of the *Représentant du Peuple* and other journals, in which the most advanced theories were advocated in the strongest language; and as a member of Assembly for the Seine department he brought forward his celebrated proposal for exacting an impost of one-third on interest and rent, which

was rejected. He also tried to put into operation his scheme for a no-discount bank, but of the five million francs which he regarded as essential, only seventeen thousand were offered, and the scheme was a complete failure.

Many of the master-manufacturers, in consequence of prevailing panic, had now closed their workshops, and the numbers of unemployed increased rapidly in Paris, Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux. A financial panic followed, which resulted in a suspension of cash payments by the banks, a note issue, and a consequent rise in prices. The Provisional Government, which had suppressed the salt tax and reduced the excise on meat and wine (31st March), now resolved to increase all the direct taxes by 45 per cent. This last act occasioned universal indignation throughout France, and the peasant proprietors, hitherto passive, now objected to their taxes being increased by 45 per cent. in order to keep a hundred thousand revolutionists in idleness at a cost of two hundred thousand francs per day. The strength of this feeling became evident when, as a result of the general election based on universal suffrage which the Provisional Government had arranged for 23rd April, the cities returned democratic and the provinces conservative members. All professed to be republican and supporters of Lamartine, but the number that could be accounted socialist was negligible.

On 6th May the Provisional Government solemnly resigned their authority to the new Assembly, which now appointed an Executive Commission of five members—Lamartine (who had formed an underhand alliance with Ledru-Rollin for support), Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. Louis Blanc, Albert, and the other socialist leaders were among those displaced. The following day the various Government offices were given to mediocre members. The truth now burst upon the socialists: democracy had been extinguished by universal suffrage! An excited mob surrounded the Palais du Corps Legislatif. Efforts were made by members of the Assembly to calm them by words. Ledru-Rollin was received with a storm of hisses; Lamartine, the silver tongued, was hooted down with cries of "Enough of the lyre—death to Lamartine." The mob then stormed the

Assembly, and dissolved it by force. A new Provisional Government was nominated by the insurgents, consisting of Barbès, Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Raspail, Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Considérant, and Proudhon, and installed in the Hôtel de Ville. A few hours later the National Guards surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, and the members of the Insurrectionary Government were arrested and conducted to Vincennes. Meanwhile, a new personality had appeared on the scene—General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria, and now received the portfolio of Minister of War. Preparations were hurriedly made on both sides for the inevitable clash. On 20th June the rumour got abroad that the Government intended to close the national workshops, where 120,000 workmen were now established. Two days later hostilities broke out. Early on the morning of the 23rd, barricades were erected with a rapidity, order, and thoroughness (some of them were cannon proof) that evidently bespoke a carefully considered plan. Women and children helped the insurgents with a will, and nearly four thousand barricades were erected. General Cavaignac, in whom the supreme command was now invested, waited until reinforcements came in from Versailles and Orleans, and on the evening of the 23rd the National Guard attacked and carried the barriers of the Porte St. Martin and the Porte St. Denis—both of which were retaken by the insurgents that evening. On the 24th, Cavaignac was given absolute power as Dictator, and the Executive Commission resigned. A fierce and bloody combat ensued, in which equal bravery and equal vindictiveness were shown by both sides. All through the 24th and 25th the fights continued. Cavaignac's terms were unconditional surrender—he obtained them; the socialists were slaughtered and crushed. Ten thousand bodies were recognised and buried, nearly as many were thrown into the Seine. This terrible strife cost France as many lives as any of the battles of the Empire.

Cavaignac now closed the national workshops, repealed the Restrictions of Hours Act, muzzled the Press, and expected hopefully to become President of the Republic. That honour, however, went neither to Cavaignac nor to Lamartine, but to Louis Napoleon.

Meanwhile, Louis Blanc fled to England,[1] and Proudhon remained as the academic leader of the socialists. Taught by experience, he now spent his energies in discrediting his opponents with his pen; but in March of the next year he was brought to trial, and imprisoned for three years.

The revolution of 1848 was an important stage in the development of democracy: it was then that the working class made its entrance on the stage of modern European history. The disturbances of that year affected nearly the whole of western and central Europe. It was a rising of the peoples against antiquated political forms and institutions, against irresponsible Governments which took no account of the wishes of their subjects. In France the revolution was a revolt against a representative monarchy with a very restricted franchise. It was not a deeply planned rising, and, indeed, surprised those who accomplished it, yet it was important. For the first time in modern history, men saw the legislature of a great country established on principles of universal suffrage.

Louis Blanc and his colleagues, however, cannot be said to have accomplished much, nor can it be said that their plans obtained a fair hearing or a fair trial. The national workshops as carried out by the Provisional Government were a tragic travesty of Louis Blanc's proposals. It was not the intention of the Government that they should succeed. As one of the leaders during this difficult crisis, Louis Blanc had neither the personal force nor enduring political influence to ensure success. He was amiable, genial, and eloquent, but without selfishness or drive. Some idea of the lack of political grip of Louis Blanc may be gathered from the fact that he was completely out-manœuvred by the vain and impractical Lamartine, who in turn was displaced by Cavaignac, whose military and political flair paled before the magic of the name Napoleon—a Napoleon whom men have united in calling vain, ambitious, and unskilful. Such was

[1] His career as a socialist leader ended with his exile, and although he returned to France in 1871 and became a deputy, his subsequent actions are not of importance.

the weight of Louis Blanc. Socialism had not yet produced the men supremely worthy of the cause.

With the bloodshed of the days of June, French socialism ceased for a time to be a considerable force; and Paris, too, for a time lost its place as the great centre of innovation. The rising removed the most enterprising leaders of the workmen, and quelled the spirit of the remainder, while the false prosperity of the Second Empire relieved their most urgent grievances. Under Napoleon III. there was consequently comparative quietness in France.

Even Proudhon lived a peaceful life under the Second Empire until the publication of his work *De La Justice dans La Revolution et dans L'Église* (1858), in which he attacked the Church and other existing institutions with unusual fury. This time he fled to Brussels to escape imprisonment. On his return to France his health broke down, and he died at Passy in 1865.

Personally, Proudhon was one of the most remarkable figures of nineteenth-century France. His life was marked by the severest simplicity, he was a loyal friend, and strictly upright in conduct. He was strongly opposed to the socialism of the Saint-Simon and Fourier schools because of their Utopianism and immorality, and for thinking that society could be changed off-hand by a complete and ready-made scheme of reform. This latter he stigmatised as "the most accursed lie that could be offered to mankind," and though he uttered all kinds of wild paradox and vehement invective against the dominant ideas and institutions, he was remarkably free from feelings of personal hate. In all that he said and did he was the son of the people, who had not been broken to the usual social and academic discipline; hence his roughness, his one-sidedness, and his exaggerations. But he was always vigorous, and often brilliant and original.

It would obviously be impossible to reduce the ideas of such an irregular thinker to systematic form. In later years Proudhon himself confessed that "the great part of his publications formed only a work of dissection and ventilation, so to speak, by means of which he slowly makes his way towards a superior conception of political and economic

laws." Yet the groundwork of his teaching is clear and firm. He strongly believed in the absolute truth of a few moral ideas, with which it was the aim of his teaching to mould and suffuse political economy. Of these fundamental ideas, justice, liberty, and equality were the chief. What he desiderated, for instance, in an ideal society was the most perfect equality of remuneration. It was his principle that service pays service, that a day's labour balances a day's labour—in other words, that the duration of labour is the just measure of value. He did not shrink from any of the consequences of this theory, for he would give the same remuneration to the worst mason as to a Phidias; but he looks forward also to a period in human development when the present inequality in the talent and capacity of men would be reduced to an inappreciable minimum.

From the great principle of service as the equivalent of service he derived his axiom that property is the right of *aubaine*. The *aubain* was a stranger not naturalised; and the right of *aubaine* was the right in virtue of which the Sovereign claimed the goods of such a stranger who had died in his territory. Property is a right of the same nature, with a like power of appropriation in the form of rent, interest, etc. It reaps without labour, consumes without producing, and enjoys without exertion.

Proudhon's aim, therefore, was to realise a science of society resting on principles of justice, liberty, and equality, thus understood; "a science, absolute, rigorous, based on the nature of man and of his faculties, and on their mutual relations; a science which we have not to invent, but to discover." But he saw clearly that such ideas, with their necessary accompaniments, could be realised only through a long and laborious process of social transformation.

As a first step he advocated the progressive abolition of the right of *aubaine*, by reducing interest, rent, etc. For the goal he professed only to give the general principles; he had no ready-made scheme, no Utopia. The positive organisation of the new society in its details was a labour that would require fifty Montesquieus. The organisation he desired was one on collective principles, a free association which would

take account of the division of labour, and which would maintain the personality both of the man and the citizen. With his strong and fervid feeling for human dignity and liberty, Proudhon could not have tolerated any theory of social change that did not give full scope for the free development of man. Connected with this was his famous paradox of *anarchy*, as the goal of the free development of society, by which he meant that through the ethical progress of men government should become unnecessary. Each man should be a law to himself. "Government of man by man in every form," he says, "is oppression. The highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and *anarchy*."

As the founder of anarchy, Proudhon exercised a great influence on the revolutionary parties in France, and his ideas, as subsequently adapted by Russian socialists, were for a long time opposed to Marxism in the Congress of the International.[1]

[1] See *infra*, pp. 45–7, 95–6.

CHAPTER III

Karl Marx and the International, 1848–1867

WHILST France was being appropriately shocked by the immorality of the Saint-Simon and Fourier schools, and passing through the terrible events of 1848, there was growing up in Germany a type of socialism that was grim, scientific, and revolutionary.

To understand this growth we must recall a few of the leading facts of recent German history. The mighty struggles of the War of Liberation of 1813 had done something to restore the national consciousness of Germany, but the disunion continued, and Germany was for the most part a fortuitous concourse of impotent, petty, and poverty-stricken princelings. In industrial organisation Germany was far behind England and France; even in the more progressive Rhine country the power-loom was not introduced until the middle of the century. German citizen and peasant alike found that the enthusiasm and devotion with which they had spent blood and treasure in throwing off the French yoke had been in vain. The despotic German princes took to themselves all the fruits of victory, and the old abuses continued to flourish. A profound and brooding discontent began to occupy the best German minds, which found an outlet in liberalism—a liberalism which received a fresh expansion with the accession of the romanticist Frederick William IV. in 1840. But none of the Liberal thinkers could compare in energy or profundity with those who were destined to become the leaders of the socialist movement in Germany.

Among these socialist leaders four names stand out prominently. The first in point of time was Johann Karl Rodbertus (1805–1875), a quiet, cultured student, who had little use for agitation and none for revolution. Then Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), his

learned duelling second, who worked with him in England, France, and Germany. Finally came Lassalle (1825–1864), an adventurous squire of Countesses, who was the founder of German Social Democracy; but as his influence on the German socialist movement does not begin until 1861, he will not be fully considered until a later chapter.

Undoubtedly the greatest of these four was Marx, who, like Lassalle, was of Jewish extraction, his parents having passed over from Judaism to Christianity in 1824, when he was six years of age. Brought up under very favourable circumstances, ardent and energetic, and endowed with the highest natural gifts, the young Marx speedily assimilated the best learning that Germany could then provide. At the universities of Bonn and Berlin he studied law to please his father, but following his own bent he gave his time much more to history and philosophy. Hegel was still about the zenith of his influence, and Marx was a zealous student, and for some time an adherent of the reigning school. In 1841 Marx finished his studies with the degree of doctor.

Marx's revolutionary temperament was little suited to the routine of the German man of learning, and the political conditions of Prussia gave no scope for free activity in any department of its national life. Marx therefore could only enter the ranks of the opposition, and early in 1842 he joined the staff of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, an organ of the extreme democracy. During his short connection with it he carried on an unsparing warfare against the Prussian reaction, and left it before its suppression by the Prussian Government early in 1843, when it sought by compromise to avoid that fate.

In the same year Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, who belonged to a family of good position in the official circles of the Rhine country. It was a most happy marriage. Through all the trials and privations of a revolutionary career Marx found in his wife a brave, steadfast, and sympathetic companion.

Soon after his marriage Marx removed to Paris, where he applied himself to the study of the questions to which his life and activity were henceforward to be entirely devoted.

All his life he appears to have worked with extraordinary intensity. At Paris he lived in close intercourse with the leading French socialists; with Proudhon he often spent whole nights in the discussion of economic problems. His most intimate associates, however, were the German exiles, among whom was Heine. Most important of all these meetings in Paris, however, was that with Friedrich Engels, the son of a Barmen manufacturer. Brought up to his father's business, Engels had resided for some time in Manchester. When, at the age of twenty-four, he met Marx in Paris in 1844, the two men had already arrived at a complete community of views, and for nearly forty years continued to be loyal friends and comrades-in-arms.

It was in 1845 that Engels published his most important work, *The Condition of the Working Classes in England*, and early in that same year, Marx, at the instance of Prussia, was expelled from Paris by the Guizot Ministry. Marx then settled in Brussels, where he resided three years, and gave up his Prussian citizenship without again becoming naturalised in any country. In Brussels, in 1847, Marx published his controversial but unimportant work on Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère*, entitled *Misère de la Philosophie*. Proudhon was at that time the leading name in European socialism, and Marx had been on very intimate terms with him. Marx's criticism of his friend is nevertheless most merciless. In his defence we can but say that such scathing methods were not unusual at that time, and that where the cause of truth and of the proletariat as he understood it was concerned, he scorned all manner of compromise and consideration for personal feelings.

In the same year, 1847, he and his friend Engels had a notable opportunity for an expression of their common opinions which excited wide attention, and which has had a great and still growing influence in the cause of the working man.

A few months earlier a society of socialists, a forerunner of the International, had established itself in London, and had been attracted by the new theories of Marx and the strong and uncompromising conviction with which he advocated them. They entered into relations with Marx and Engels,

and called an International Congress. It had long been evident to Marx and Engels that antagonism to capitalism had to be declared in the international arena. Even then, in 1847, it was evident that the cheap labour of one nation had not seldom been thrown into the scale to weigh down the dear labour of another. Germans, Belgians, Irishmen, and Italians had often rendered unavailing the efforts of the English and French workmen for a higher standard of living. Furthermore, the capitalists of most civilised countries had protected themselves against competition by tariffs, trusts, and combines of wide and international magnitude. It was not surprising that similar efforts should now be made by the leaders of the working men of Europe to secure equal protection.

The Congress of 1847 resulted in the formation of the Communist League, the aim of which was "the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old society resting on class antagonisms, and the founding of a new society without private classes and without private property." The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels was adopted as the Bible of the League.

"The history of all society hitherto has been the history of class-struggles"; such is the keynote of the Manifesto. "But it is a distinguishing feature of the present time, that it has simplified class antagonisms; the entire human society more and more divides itself into two great hostile camps, into two great conflicting classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat." The Manifesto is for the most part an exposition and discussion of these two classes, the historical conditions under which they have grown up, and their mutual relations, past, present, and future.

It is not easy to give a brief analysis of the Manifesto. It is a treatise instinct with the fiery energy and enthusiasm of a young revolutionary party, and its doctrines are the doctrines of Marx in a crude, exaggerated, and violent form. In such a pamphlet, written for propaganda, we must not expect the self-restraining moderation of statement, the clear perspective, or the high judicial clarity which should characterise a sober historical exposition.

The Iron Law of Wages[1] is stated in its hardest and most exaggerated form. To the charge that they desire to abolish private property, its authors reply that individual property, the produce of a man's own labour, is already abolished. What they desire to abolish is the appropriation of other men's labour by the capitalist. To the charge that they wish to abolish the family, they reply to the bourgeoisie with a *tu quoque*: you have already abolished it by the exploitation of women and children in the factories, which has broken up the family ties, through the prevalence of prostitution and the common practice of adultery. The charge of abolishing patriotism they repudiate in the same manner: the workman has no country.

We cannot understand the Manifesto unless we remember that it was drawn up by young men living in exile, and that it was written in 1847, shortly after some of the earliest inquiries into the condition of labour both in England and the Continent had revealed facts which ought to fill every human heart with sorrow and indignation.

As the Manifesto of the first international combination of workmen, it has a special historical importance, and claims special attention. And apart from that, it is one of the most remarkable utterances of the nineteenth century.

"The Manifesto," says Engels, "was sent to the Press at London a few weeks before the February Revolution. Since then, it has made the tour of the world, and it has been translated into almost every tongue, and in the most different countries still serves as the guiding star of the proletarian movement."

While Marx and Engels were thus circulating the earliest copies of the Communist Manifesto in London, events were slowly moving in Austria-Hungary and Germany, as well as in France (as has been mentioned in Chapter II), towards revolution. Early in March 1848, insurrections broke out in Vienna and throughout Germany, and the leader of the socialists in Germany was not Marx—or even Engels—but the quiet and professorial Rodbertus, a mild student who, paradoxically, has even more right than Marx to the

[1] See p. 63.

title of founder of scientific socialism. Both at Vienna and Berlin the old regime was for a time overturned. Marx returned to Germany with his comrades, and there supported the most advanced democracy in the *New Rhenish Gazette*. Rodbertus now became an elected member of the Prussian National Assembly, in which body he belonged to the Left Centre, and for fourteen days he filled the post of Minister of Public Worship and Education.[1]

But the German reformers were not united; they had no clear aims; and while the Liberals talked and proposed, the forces of reaction, backed by the organised military power, acted, and before the year closed, reaction was triumphant both in Vienna and Berlin. Many who had shared in the struggle were put to death or imprisoned. In 1849, Switzerland counted within her borders as many as eleven thousand German refugees, most of whom afterwards found homes in America, and there began the American Socialist movement.

With the failure of the revolutionary movement, Marx returned to London and Rodbertus retired into private life. In the succeeding years Rodbertus had very little influence, though in constant communication with socialist leaders like Lassalle. His general position was "social, monarchical, and national." The basis of his economic teaching is that labour is the source of all wealth, and he believed that the natural effects of the existing economic laws would be to bring about eventually the realisation of the ideal of State socialism, when land, capital, and the products of labour would be national property. As against the Ricardian doctrine of rent and the "iron law of wages," he regarded rent, wages, and profits as constituent parts of the national income, and as such called for State regulation.[2] Consequently there could be no talk of labour wages being paid out of capital, for they are only that part of the national income, produced by the organic labour of the community, which is received by

[1] He sat for Berlin in the Second Chamber of 1849, and moved the adoption of the Frankfort Imperial Constitution, which was carried.

[2] His views are laid down in his *Soziale Briefe* (1850–1), and his *Zur Erklärung und Abhilfe der heutigen Kreditnot des Grundbesitzes* (1868), *Zur Beleuchtung der sozialen Frage* (1875), and in Marx's *Das Kapital* (1848).

the workmen. Thus the wages fund theory is summarily disposed of. But the most important part of the theory is his position that the possession of land and capital enables the landholders and capitalists to compel the workmen to divide the product of their labour with those non-working classes, and in such a proportion that the workers only obtain as much as can support them in life. Thus the Iron Law of Wages is established. Hence also Rodbertus deduced his theory of commercial crises and of pauperism.

A fundamental part of the teaching of Rodbertus is his theory of social development. He recognised three stages in the economic progress of mankind: (1) the ancient heathen period in which property in human beings was the rule; (2) the period of private property in land and capital; (3) the period, still remote, of property as dependent on service or desert. The goal of the human race is to be one society organised on a communistic basis; only in that way can the principle that every man be rewarded according to his work be realised. In this communistic or socialistic State of the future, land and capital will be national property, and the entire national production will be under national control; and means will be taken so to estimate the labour of each citizen that he shall be rewarded according to its precise amount. An immense staff of State officials will be required for this function. As we have already said, Rodbertus believed that this stage of social development is yet far distant; he thought that five centuries will need to pass away before the ethical force of the people can be equal to it.

From what we have already said, it will be understood that by his temperament, culture, and social position Rodbertus was entirely averse to agitation as a means of hastening the new era; and in the measures which he recommends for making the transition towards it he showed a scrupulous regard for the existing interests of the capitalists and landholders. He proposed that those two classes should be left in full possession of their present share of the national income, but that the workers should reap the benefit of the increasing production. To secure them this increment of production he proposed that the State should fix a normal working day

for the various trades, a normal day's work, and a legal wage, the amount of which should be revised periodically, and raised according to the increase of production, the better workman receiving a better wage. By measures such as these, carried out by the State in order to correct the evils of competition, would Rodbertus seek to make the transition into the socialistic era.

The economic work of Rodbertus is therefore an attempt made in a temperate and scientific spirit to elucidate the evil tendencies inherent in the competitive system, especially as exemplified in the operations of the Iron Law of Wages. The remedy he proposes is a State management of production and distribution, which shall extend more and more, till we arrive at a complete and universal socialism—and all based on the principle that, as labour is the source of value, so to the labourer should all wealth belong.

The writings of Rodbertus have had some little influence on socialist thinkers—but little on the masses of wage earners. He lacked the popular and forceful appeal of Marx and Lassalle, and in any case the collapse of the revolutionary movement of 1848–49 had left Germany in no mood to consider economic theories that could only become accomplished fact after the lapse of five centuries.

After the triumph of reaction in 1848 a period of unexampled industrial prosperity set in. It is now an accepted fact that during such periods socialism—political socialism—languishes, and trade unionism flourishes. Capitalism was entering on a far wider phase of development than it had yet seen, and in the resulting prosperity the first international combination of working men came to a close (1852). Many thought the movement had died without hope of resurrection.

But the triumph of reaction in 1848–49 did not settle the questions that had caused the troubles, it merely postponed them. Before many years had passed the peoples of Europe again began to move uneasily under the yoke of antiquated political forms. The rising of Italy against Austria in 1859, the struggles of the Prussian Liberals against the Ministry—these were only symptoms of a fresh advance. There was similar activity shortly afterwards in France, Spain, and

Eastern Europe, but international socialism did not begin to raise its head again until 1862. In that year an international exhibition was held in London—to which the workmen of France sent a deputation, and there was a frank interchange of views with their English comrades.

In the following year a second deputation of French workmen crossed the Channel. Nothing decisive, however, was done till 1864, when, on the 28th September, a great public meeting of working men of all nations was held in London. Professor Beesly presided and Karl Marx was present. A provisional committee of fifty representatives of different nations was formed to draw up the constitution of the new association, and the magnificent sum of three pounds was collected—three pounds with which to shake the world !

Mazzini, the Italian patriot, first undertook the task of drafting the constitution, but the statutes he drew up were more adapted to political conspiracy than to the frank and free development of the strength of the workers, and the duty of drawing up the constitution was transferred to Marx. The statutes finally drafted by him and his inaugural address were unanimously adopted by the committee.

In the inaugural address three points were particularly emphasised. First, Marx contended that, notwithstanding the enormous development of industry and of national wealth since 1848, the misery of the masses had not diminished. Secondly, the successful struggle for the ten-hours working-day meant the breakdown of the political economy of the middle classes, the competitive operation of supply and demand requiring to be regulated by social control. Thirdly, the productive association of a few daring "hands" had proved that industry on a great scale, and with all the appliances of modern science, could be carried on without the existence of capitalist masters; and that wage-labour, like slave-labour, was only a transitory form, destined to disappear before associated labour, which gives to the workman a diligent hand, a cheerful spirit, and a joyful heart.

It was the task of the International to bring about an effective union of workers, and for this end the workmen must

take international politics into their own hands, must watch the diplomacy of their Governments, and uphold the simple rules of morality in the relations of private persons and nations.

The preamble to the statutes contains implicitly the leading principles of international socialism, and is worth reading not only for its ideas but also for the lucid and masterly form in which Marx has presented them.

The International Association was founded for the establishment of a centre of union and of systematic co-operation between the working-men societies, which follow the same aim—namely, the protection, the progress, and the complete emancipation of the working class.

A General Council, having its seat in London, was appointed. While the president, treasurer, and general secretary were to be Englishmen, each nation was to be represented in the Council by a corresponding secretary. The General Council was to summon annual congresses and exercise an effective control over the affairs of the Association, but local societies were to have free play in all local questions. As a further means of union, it was recommended that the workmen of the various countries should be united in national bodies, represented by national central organs, but no independent local society was to be excluded from direct correspondence with the General Council. It will be seen that the arrangements of the Association were so made as to secure the efficiency of the central directing power on the one hand, and on the other to allow local and national associations a real freedom and abundant scope for adapting themselves to the peculiar tasks imposed on them by their local and national position.

As in founding, so in conducting the International, Marx took the leading part. The proceedings of the various congresses might be described as a discussion, elucidation, and filling up of the programme sketched by him in the inaugural address and in the statutes of the Association. Men representing the schools of Proudhon (who died in 1865), of Blanqui, and of Bakunin[1] also exercised considerable

[1] See *infra*, p. 95 *seq.*

influence; but the general tendency was in accordance with the views of Marx.

It was intended that the first congress for finally arranging the constitution of the Association should be held at Brussels in 1865, but the Belgian Government forbade the meeting, and the Council had to content itself with a conference in London. The first congress was held at Geneva in September 1866, sixty delegates being present. Here the statutes as drafted by Marx were adopted. Among other resolutions it decided on an agitation in favour of the gradual reduction of the working day to eight hours, and it recommended a most comprehensive system of education, intellectual and technical, which would raise the working people above the level of the higher and middle classes. Socialistic principles were set forth only in the most general terms. With regard to labour the International did not seek to enunciate a doctrinaire system, but only to proclaim general principles. They must aim at free co-operation, and for this end the decisive power in the State must be transferred from capitalists and landlords to the workers.

The second congress, held at Lausanne in 1867, made considerable progress in the formulating of the socialistic theories. It was resolved that the means of transport and communication should become the property of the State, in order to break the mighty monopoly of the great capitalists, under whom the subjection of labour does violence to human worth and personal freedom. The congress encouraged co-operative associations and efforts for the raising of wages, but emphatically called attention to the danger lest the spread of such associations should be found compatible with the existing system, thus resulting in the formation of a fourth class and of an entirely miserable fifth. The social transformation can be radically and definitely accomplished only by working on the whole of society in thorough accordance with reciprocity and justice.

In the third congress, held at Brussels in September 1868, the socialist principles, which had all along been implicitly contained in the aims and utterances of the International, received most explicit statement. Ninety-eight delegates,

representing England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy Spain, and Switzerland, assembled at this congress. It resolved that mines and forests and the land, as well as all the means of transport and communication, should become the common property of society or of the democratic State, and that they should by the State be handed over to associations of workers, who should utilise them under rational and equitable conditions determined by society. It was further resolved that the producers could gain possession of the machines only through co-operative societies and the organisation of the mutual credit system, the latter clause being a concession apparently to the followers of Proudhon. After proposing a scheme for the better organising of strikes, the congress returned to the question of education, particularly emphasising the fact that an indispensable condition towards a thorough system of scientific, professional, and productive instruction was the reduction of the hours of labour.

The fundamental principle, "to labour the full product of labour," was recognised in the following resolution: "Every society founded on democratic principles repudiates all appropriation by capital, whether in the form of rent, interest, profit, or in any other form or manner whatsoever. Labour must have its full right and entire reward."

In view of the struggle imminent between France and Germany, the congress made an emphatic declaration, calling upon the workers to resist all war as systematic murder. In case of war the congress recommended a universal strike. It reckoned on the solidarity of the workers of all lands for this strike of the peoples against war.

At the congress of Basel in September 1869, little remained for the International to accomplish in further defining the socialistic position.

If we now turn from the congresses of the International to consider the history of its influence in Europe, we shall see that its success was very considerable. A conference of delegates of English Trade Unions which met at Sheffield in 1866 most earnestly entreated the unions to join the International, which repeatedly gave real help to the English Trade Unionists by preventing the importation of cheap

labour from the Continent. It gained a substantial success in the effectual support of the bronze-workers at Paris during their lock-out in 1867. At the beginning of 1868, one hundred and twenty-two working men's societies of South Germany, assembled at Nuremberg, declared their adhesion to the International. In 1870 Cameron announced himself as the representative of 800,000 American workmen who had adopted its principles.

It soon spread as far east as Poland and Hungary; it had affiliated societies, with journals devoted to its cause, in every country of Western Europe. The leading organs of the European Press became more than interested in its movements; *The Times* published four leaders on the Brussels Congress, which was supposed to be concerned in all the revolutionary movements and agitations of Europe, thus gaining a world-historic notoriety as the rallying-point of social overthrow and ruin. Its prestige, however, was always based more on the vast possibilities of the cause it represented than on its actual power. Its organisation was loose, its financial resources insignificant; the continental unionists joined it more in the hope of borrowing than of contributing support.

In 1870 the International resolved to meet at the old hearth of the revolutionary movement by holding its annual congress in Paris. This plan was rendered abortive by the Franco-German War, which, however, helped to bring the principles of the Association more prominently before the world. During the Austro-German struggle of 1866 the International had declared its emphatic condemnation of war; and now the affiliated societies of France and Germany, as well as the General Council at London, uttered a solemn protest against a renewal of the scourge.

Such a protest, however, was unavailing. The International as yet had neither the prestige nor the membership, nor even the unity to declare war on war.

One result of the Franco-German War was the brief establishment of the Commune in Paris, a revolutionary assertion of the right of the Commune or municipality of Paris to self-government. The Commune, beginning on

18th March 1871, only lasted ten weeks, being suppressed by a large army of the central government after long and bloody fighting; in ten days (20th to 30th May) as many as 6500 communards were killed and 38,578 taken prisoners. It is clear that the International, as such, had no part either in originating or conducting the Commune; some of the French members joined it, but only on their individual responsibility. Its complicity after the event is equally clear. After the fall of the Commune, Karl Marx, in the name of the General Council, wrote a long and trenchant manifesto, commending it as substantially a government of the working class, whose measures tended really to advance the interests of the working class. "The Paris of the workers, with its Commune, will ever be celebrated as the glorious herald of a new society. Its martyrs will be enshrined in the great heart of the working class. History has already nailed its destroyers on the pillory, from which all the prayers of their priests are impotent to deliver them." [1]

The Commune was undoubtedly a rising for the autonomy of Paris, supported chiefly by the lower classes. It was a protest against excessive centralisation raised by the democracy of Paris, which has always been far in advance of the provinces, and which found itself in possession of arms after the siege of the city by the Germans. But while it was prominently an assertion of local self-government, it was also a revolt against the economic oppression of the moneyed classes. Many of its measures were what we should call social-radical.

In two important points, therefore, the communal rising at Paris had a very close affinity with socialism. In the first place, it was a revolutionary assertion of the Commune or local unit of self-government as the cardinal and dominating principle of society over against the State or central government. In the second place, the Commune was a rising chiefly of the oppressed and indignant proletariat against the middle-class adventurers who had, on the fall of the Empire, seized the central government of France.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume for the Com-

[1] *Der Burgerkrieg in Frankreich.*

mune a clearness and comprehensiveness of aim which it did not really possess. The Commune had no definite consciousness of such an historical mission as has been claimed for it. The fearful shock caused by the overwhelming events of the Franco-German War had naturally led to widespread confusion and uncertainty in the French mind ; and at a time when it could hardly be said that France had a regular government, the Commune seized the opportunity to make a new political departure. The story of its rise and fall was only one phase of a sad series of troubles and disasters, which happily do not often overtake nations in so terrible a form.

From this point the decline and fall of the International Association must be dated. The English trades unions, intent on more practical concerns at home, never took a deep interest in its proceedings ; the German socialists were disunited among themselves, lacking in funds, and hampered by the police. It found its worst enemies perhaps in its own household. In 1869, Bakunin and a number of anarchists joined the International, and from the first found themselves at variance with the majority led by Marx. It can hardly be maintained that Marx favoured a very strongly centralising authority, yet, as his views and methods were naturally entirely repugnant to the anarchists, a breach was inevitable.

The breach came at the Hague Congress in September 1872. Sixty-five delegates were present, including Marx himself, who, with his followers, after animated discussion, expelled the anarchist party, and then removed the seat of the General Council to New York. The congress concluded with a meeting at Amsterdam, of which the chief feature was a remarkable speech from Marx. " He could not deny that there were countries, like America, England—and, as far as he knew its institutions, Holland also—where the workmen could attain their goal by peaceful means ; but in most European countries force must be the lever of revolution, and to force they must appeal when the time came." Thus it was a principle of Marx to prefer peaceful methods where peaceful methods are permitted, but resort to force must be made when necessary. Force also is an economic power. He concluded by expressing his resolve that in the future,

as in the past, his life would be consecrated to the triumph of the social cause.

The transfer of the General Council of the Marx International from London to New York was the beginning of the end. It survived just long enough to hold another congress at Geneva in 1873, and then quietly expired. The party of destruction, styling themselves *autonomists* and led by Bakunin, had a bloodier history. The programme of this party, as we shall see in another chapter, was to overturn all existing institutions, with the view to reconstructing them on a communal basis. This it endeavoured to realise by the great communal risings in Southern Spain in 1873, when its adherents set up their special form of government at Barcelona, Seville, Cadiz, and Cartagena—at the last-mentioned place also seizing on part of the iron-clad fleet of Spain. The risings were suppressed, not without difficulty, by the national troops, and autonomism faded away.

In its main practical aim, to serve as a common centre for the combined efforts of working men of all nations towards their universal emancipation, the International had only a moderate and transitory success. It was a great idea, for which the times were not ripe. It was inevitable that some such effort should be made; but on the vast scale contemplated by the International it was at least premature, and inasmuch as it drew the attention of the workmen from practical measures to far-distant and perhaps Utopian aims, and engaged them in revolutionary schemes for which the times were not ready, even if they were otherwise desirable, its influence was not salutary. But it had one great effect: it proclaimed again a great cause in the face of the world—the cause of the poor man, the cause of the suffering and oppressed millions of workers. Its great mission was propaganda, and in that it partly succeeded. Even though the International was dead, the forces which gave it birth were alive, and they were destined to blossom again before a decade had passed.

Marx was now a man of fifty-five, still energetic and enthusiastic. Only five years earlier, in 1867, he had published the first volume of his greatest work, *Das Kapital*,

which embodied some of his earlier work, and for the remaining years of his life he worked assiduously at the second and third volumes. Ill-health, due to excessive work, now however began to trouble him, and he was destined not to see the publication of these volumes. He died in London on 14th March 1883, and was buried in Highgate cemetery. After his death, *Das Kapital* was completed by Engels, who edited the manuscripts left by his friend; but neither of these two volumes has the historical interest which may fairly be claimed for the first. Marx and his associates had already made socialism a social, political, and economic creed, and in *Das Kapital* he gives scientific form to socialist theories and seeks to propagate them by the best and most effective revolutionary methods. He realised that if the capitalist system was to be overcome it would not be by sporadic riots and uprisings, but by scientific methods.

In his *Das Kapital* Marx evolves two main ideas: the economic interpretation of history and the existence of surplus value (the doctrine that after the labourer has been paid a subsistence wage the surplus produce is appropriated by the capitalist). This surplus value the capitalist seeks to accumulate by all the available methods which are described by Marx with great detail and elaboration through several hundred pages of his first volume. His account, supported at every step by long and copious citations from the best historical authorities and from the blue-books of the various parliamentary commissions, is a lurid and ghastly picture of the many abuses of English industrialism. It is the dark and gloomy reverse of the industrial glories of England. The fearful prolongation of the hours of labour, the merciless exploitation of women and of children from the age of infancy, the utter neglect of sanitary conditions—whatever could lessen the costs of production and swell the profits of the capitalist, though every law of man and nature were violated in the process—such are the historical facts which Marx emphasises and illustrates with an overwhelming force of evidence. They receive ample confirmation in the history of the English Factory Acts, imposed on greedy and unscrupulous capitalists after a severe struggle prolonged

for half a century, and required to prevent the moral and physical ruin of the industrial population.

Marx's next point is that as capitalistic technique improves, production increases and tends more and more to surpass the available needs of the market, wide as it is. This is all the more inevitable, because the consumption of the masses of the population is reduced to the minimum requisite merely to maintain them in life. It is another contradiction of the capitalistic system that on the one hand its inherent laws tend to restrict the market which on the other hand it is ready by all means fair and foul to extend. The consequence is, that the market tends to be overstocked even to absolute repletion ; goods will not sell, and a commercial crisis is established, in which we have the remarkable phenomenon of widespread panic, misery, and starvation resulting from a superabundance of wealth—a "*crise pléthorique*," as Fourier called it, a crisis due to a plethora of wealth.

These crises occur at periodic intervals, each one severer and more widespread than the preceding, until they tend to become chronic and permanent, and the whole capitalistic world staggers under an atlantean weight of ill-distributed wealth. Production is more and more concentrated in the hands of mammoth capitalists and colossal joint-stock companies, under which the proletariat are organised and drilled into vast industrial armies. But as crisis succeeds crisis, until panic, stagnation, and disorder are universal, it becomes clear that the bourgeoisie are no longer capable of controlling the industrial world. In fact, the productive forces rise in chronic rebellion against the forms imposed on them by capitalism.

In order to right these wrongs, the proletariat should seize the political power, and through it at last take complete control over the economic functions of society. The private capitalist should be expropriated, and the means of production appropriated and managed in the interests of the working classes, which is the interest of society as a whole. It is a result determined by the inherent laws of social evolution, independent of the will and purpose of individual men. All that the most powerful and clear-sighted intellect can do is to

learn to divine the laws of the great movement of society, and to shorten and alleviate the birth-pangs of the new era.

In this vast historical process surplus value is the beginning, middle, and end of capitalism. It moves it alike in its origin and progress, decline and fall. It is the keynote of a great process of historic evolution continued for centuries; the secret of a vast development, which becomes more and more open as time goes on. And capitalism grows sick of the sustenance which formerly nourished it. It dies of over-repletion, of habitual excess in surplus value.

Let us now inquire how far Marx has thrown any light on the forms likely to be assumed by the new society after the downfall of capitalism. The clearest indication of his views is contained in the following passage: "Let us assume an association of free men, who work with common means of production and consciously put forth their many individual labour powers as a social labour power. The total product of the association is a social product. A part of this product serves again as means of production. It remains social property. But another part is as means of living consumed by the members of the association. It must, therefore, be distributed among them. The nature of this distribution will change according to the special nature of the organisation of production, and the corresponding grade of historical development of the producers." And then he goes on to assume that the share of each producer in the means of living may be determined by his labour time. Labour time will at once serve as measure of the share of each producer in the common labour, and therefore also of his share in the portion of the common product which is devoted to consumption.[1]

Another important indication by one who has full right to speak for Marx is contained in Engels' views regarding the State. In 1877, Engels published his *Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, a controversial treatise against Professor Dühring of Berlin. In this work, which had a considerable influence on the development of German Social Democracy, Engels looks well ahead. After the proletariat have seized

[1] *Das Kapital*, i. 48.

political power and transformed the means of production into State property, the State will cease to exist. In a society which contains no subject class, from which class rule and the anarchy of production and the collisions and excesses of the struggle for individual existence have been removed, there is nothing to repress, and no need for a repressing force like the State. The first act wherein the State really appears as representative of the entire society—the appropriation of the means of production in the name of society—is also its last dependent act as State. In place of the government over persons, there will be an administration of things and the control of productive processes. The State is not abolished; it dies away.[1]

It will have been seen that what Marx and his school contemplate is an economic revolution brought about in accordance with the natural laws of historic evolution. But in order to understand the full import of this revolution in the mind of Marx, we must remember that he regards the economic order of society as determining all the other forms of social order. The entire legal and political structure, as well as philosophy and religion, are constituted and controlled in accordance with the economic basis. His conception of the world is a frank and avowed materialism.

The whole position of the Marx school may be characterised as revolutionary socialism, based on a materialistic conception of the world and of human history. Socialism is a social revolution determined by the laws of historic evolution—a revolution which, changing the economic groundwork of society, will change the whole structure.

Marx's great work may be described as an elaborate historical development of the glaring fundamental contradiction of the Ricardian economics—the contradiction between the Iron Law of Wages and the great principle that labour is the source of wealth. Marx's conception of labour is the same as that of Ricardo, and as a logic exposition of the historic contradiction between the two principles, on the basis of Ricardo, the work of Marx is quite unanswerable. It is obvious, however, that the definition of labour assumed both

[1] *Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, pp. 267–8.

in Ricardo and Marx is too narrow. The labour they broadly posit as the source of wealth is manual labour. In the early stages of industry, when the market was small and limited, and the technique was of the simplest and rudest description, labour in that sense might correctly enough be described as the source of value. But in modern industry, when the market is world-wide, the technique most complex, and the competition most severe—when inventiveness, sagacity, courage, decision in initiative, and skill in management are factors so important, no such exclusive place as has been claimed can be assigned to labour. The Ricardian principle, therefore, falls to the ground.

But it is not historically true to maintain, as Marx does, that the profits of the capitalist are obtained simply by appropriating the products of unpaid labour. In initiating and managing, the capitalist is charged with the most difficult and important part of the work of production. In past accumulation, as in the control and management of industry generally, the capitalist has had the leading part. Capital, therefore, is not necessarily robbery, and in an economic order in which the system of free exchange is the rule and the mutually beneficial interchange of utilities, no objection can be raised to the principle of lending and borrowing of money for interest. In short, in his theory of unpaid labour as supplying the key to his explanation of the genesis and development of the capitalistic system, Marx is not true to history. It is the perfectly logical outcome of certain of the leading principles of the Ricardian school, but it does not give an adequate or accurate account of the facts of economic evolution.

Marx has not sufficiently recognised the fact that the development of the new social forces brought with it a new set of functions: that of initiating and directing industrial enterprise. These functions are not comprehended in the narrow definition of labour, but they are, nevertheless, most essential to progress; and the men that performed them have a most complete historical reason for their existence and a share in the results of industry. We need not add that such an argument does not justify all they did as the heads of the new industry. There is ample evidence that they were

often rough, hard, cruel, and unscrupulous in the prosecution of their industrial enterprises. Nor does it prejudice the question whether the like direction of industry must and should continue in the future.

There can be no doubt that in his theory of surplus value obtained from unpaid labour, Marx, as agitator and controversialist, has fallen into serious contradiction with himself as scientific historian and philosopher. The theory that labour is the source of value was widely accepted among economists during his early life, and by its justice and nobleness it was well adapted to the comfortable optimism prevalent among so many of the classical school. The economists, however, did not follow the principle to its obvious conclusion : that if labour is the source of wealth, the labourer should enjoy it all. It was otherwise with the socialists, who were not slow to perceive the bearing of the theory on the existing economic order. Its simplicity and seeming effectiveness must have made it most attractive. As posited by the classic economy, and applied by the socialists, Marx accepted the principle. It was an unanswerable *argumentum ad hominem* when addressed to an economist of the Ricardian school ; but it should have broken down when confronted with historical fact. Nevertheless it was made, and continued to be, the foundation-stone of the system of Marx, and is really its weakest point. His doctrine of surplus value is the vitiating factor in his history of the capitalistic system. The most obvious excuse for him is that he borrowed it from the classic economists.

Engels sums up the achievement of his friend Marx in the two great discoveries—the materialistic conception of history, and the revelation of the secret of the capitalistic method of production by means of surplus value. Materialism is a very old theory of the world, but it is a grave exaggeration to maintain that all social institutions, including philosophy and religion, are to be explained by reference to the economic factors. Nevertheless it is a great merit of Marx that he has so powerfully called attention to the vast importance of the economic side of history. It is a feature of his materialistic conception of history that his language respecting the inevit-

able march of society would sometimes suggest a kind of fatalism. But this is more than counterbalanced by his strong assertion of the revolutionary will. On both sides we see overstatement. The most prominent feature of his teaching, however, in this reference, is the excessive stress which he lays on the virtues and possibilities of the revolutionary method of action. The evolution he contemplates is attended and disturbed by great historic breaks, by cataclysm and catastrophe. These and other features of his teaching, to which objection must be made, were most pronounced in his early writings, especially in the Manifesto of the Communist League, but they continue to be visible throughout his life. According to his teaching, a great revolutionary catastrophe is to close the capitalistic era ; and this must naturally be regarded as a very bad preparation for the time of social peace which is forthwith to follow.

But the main defect in his teaching lies in the arbitrariness and excessive abstractness that characterise his method of investigation and presentation. The work of Marx, in many of its most important sections, is an arbitrary and artificial attempt to force his formulas on the facts of history. Whether the fault lay in the Hegelian philosophy, or in Marx's use of it, there can be no doubt that its influence has inflicted most serious damage on what might otherwise have been a splendid historical work.

Like other men, Marx had to work under human limitations. The great task of his life was to rouse the proletariat of the world to a sense of its position, its mission, and destiny, to discover the scientific conditions under which a new era in the evolution of the human race could be inaugurated and carried on by the working classes of all lands. It was a mixed task in which science and practice were combined, and in which the purely scientific study of history naturally suffered in the partnership with a powerful and passionate propaganda.

It was not the fault of Marx that he adopted the revolutionary career. He was born at a time and in a country where men of independence and originality of character of necessity became revolutionists. In face of the European reaction, Marx never made any concession or compromise.

He never bowed himself in the house of Rimmon. Seldom in the history of human thought has there been a man who travelled right ahead in so straightforward a path, however formidable the opposition and however apparently hopeless surrounding circumstances might be. Public opinion had no weight with him; neither idle sentiment nor amiable weakness found any place in his strongly marked individuality.

In view of such a career, spent in the unflinching service of what he regarded to be the truth, and in the greatest of human causes, it would be unfair not to speak of Marx in terms of profound respect. His sincerity, his courage, his self-abnegation, his devotion to his great work through long years of privation and obloquy, were heroic. If he had followed the broad and well-beaten highway of self-interest, Marx, with his exceptional endowments both for thought and action, might easily have arisen to a foremost place in the Prussian State. He disdained the fleshpots of despotism and obscurantism, and spent forty hard and laborious years almost wholly in exile as the scientific champion of the proletariat. Many men are glad to live an hour of glorious life. Few are strong and brave enough to live the life heroic for forty years with the resolution, the courage, and consistency of Karl Marx.

In the combination of learning, philosophic acumen, and literary power, he is second to no economic thinker of the nineteenth century. He seems to have been master of the whole range of economic literature, and wielded it with a logical skill not less masterly. But his great strength lay in his knowledge of the technical and economic development of modern industry, and in his marvellous insight into the tendencies in social evolution determined by the technical and economic factors. His theories have suggested questions that will demand the attention of economic thinkers for a long time to come.

But his main achievement consists in the work he has done as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era. History, including economic history, is an orderly succession of disorderly phenomena. Each phase in the line of succession is marked by facts and tendencies more or less peculiar to

itself, and the laws and principles which we now condemn had formerly an historical necessity, justification, and validity. In accordance with this fundamental principle of historical evolution, the economic, social, and political forms, which were the progressive and even adequate expressions of the life of one era, become hindrances and fetters to the life of the succeeding times. This, the school of Karl Marx says, is precisely the condition of the present economic order. The existing arrangements of landlord, capitalist, and wage-labourer under free competition are burdened with contradiction and abuse. The life of society is being strangled by the forms which once promoted it. They maintain that the really vital and powerful tendencies of our time are towards a higher and wider form of social and economic organisation—towards socialism. Here, as we believe, is the central point of the whole question. The place of Marx in history will depend on how far he and his modern disciples in Russia and elsewhere have made a permanent contribution towards the settlement of it.

CHAPTER IV

Lassalle and the Beginnings of German Social Democracy (1848–1865)

IF Marx was supremely the scientific theorist of socialism, his contemporary, Ferdinand Lassalle, was the real organiser of social democracy in Germany. When the two-fold socialist movement petered out in England and France about 1852, it was Germany and Russia that took up the running, and the organiser of the movement in Germany was Lassalle. Born at Breslau in 1825, his father, a prosperous Breslau merchant in whose veins ran the purest Semitic blood, early intended him for a business career, and with this view sent him to the commercial school at Leipzig; but the boy, having no liking for that kind of life, got himself transferred to the university, first at Breslau, and afterwards at Berlin. His favourite studies were philosophy and philology; he became an ardent Hegelian, and in politics was one of the most advanced.

From the Rhine country, where he settled for a time, he went to Paris, and made the acquaintance of his great compatriot, Heine, who conceived for him the deepest sympathy and admiration. Heine described his friend Lassalle as a young man of the most remarkable endowments, in whom the widest knowledge, the greatest acuteness, and the richest gifts of expression were combined with an energy and practical ability which excited his astonishment; but he added, in his half-mocking way, that he was a genuine son of the new era, without even the pretence of modesty or self-denial, who would assert and enjoy himself in the world of realities. At Berlin, Lassalle became a favourite in some of the most distinguished circles; and it was here, early in 1846, that he met the lady with whom his life was to be associated in so striking a way, the Countess Hatzfeldt. She had been

separated from her husband for many years, and was at feud with him on questions of property and the custody of their children. With characteristic energy, Lassalle adopted the cause of the countess, whom he believed to have been outrageously wronged, made a special study of law, and, after bringing the case before thirty-six tribunals, reduced the powerful count to a compromise on terms most favourable to his client.

His intimate relations with the countess, which continued till the end, certainly did not tend to improve Lassalle's position in German society. Rightly or wrongly, people had an unfavourable impression of him, as of an adventurer. His conduct was a mixture of chivalry and business, which every one must judge for himself; it was certainly not in accordance with the conventionalities, but for these Lassalle never entertained much respect.

In 1848, Lassalle attached himself to the group of men, Karl Marx, Engels, Freiligrath, and others, who in the Rhine country represented the socialistic and extreme democratic side of the revolution, and whose organ was the *New Rhenish Gazette*. But the activity of Lassalle was only local and subordinate. He was, however, condemned to six months' imprisonment for resisting the authorities at Düsseldorf.

Till 1858, Lassalle resided mostly in the Rhine country, prosecuting the suit of his friend the countess, not being allowed to live in Berlin because of his connection with the disturbances of 1848. In 1859 he returned to the capital disguised as a carter, and finally received permission to remain.

In the course of the Hatzfeldt suit, Lassalle had acquired no little knowledge of law, which proved serviceable to him in the great work, *System of Acquired Rights*, published in 1861. The book professes to be, and in a great measure is, an application of the historical method to legal ideas and institutions; but it is largely dominated also by abstract conceptions, which are not really drawn from history but read into it. The results of his investigation are sufficiently revolutionary; in the legal sphere they go even farther than his socialistic writings in the economic and political. But

with one important exception he made no attempt to base his socialistic agitation on his *System of Acquired Rights*; it simply remained a learned work.

Hitherto Lassalle had been known only as an author, and as connected with one of the most extraordinary lawsuits of the nineteenth century, which had become a widespread scandal. Now began the brief activity which was to give him an historical significance.

A rare opportunity had at last come for asserting his convictions. It was a time of new life in Germany. The new King of Prussia, who was destined to become the First Emperor of Germany, had been on the throne only a few months, and his accession had almost synchronised with the birth of the Progressist Party, that phase of German Liberalism that was to offer such bitter opposition subsequently both to Bismarck, who became Chief Minister of Prussia in 1862, and to Lassalle himself. The forces destined to transform the Germany of Hegel into the Germany of Bismarck were preparing. The time for the restoration and unification of the Fatherland under the leadership of Prussia had come, and the nation that had so long been foremost in philosophy and theory was to take a leading place in the practical walks of national life, in war and politics, and in the modern methods of industry. For accomplishing this world-historic change, the decisive factor was the Prussian army. The new rulers of Prussia saw clearly that for the success of their plans everything would depend on the efficiency of the army. But on the question of its reorganisation they came into conflict with the Liberals, who, failing to comprehend the policy of Bismarck, refused him the supplies necessary for realising ideals dear to every German patriot.

In the controversy so bitterly waged between the Prussian monarchy and the Liberals, Lassalle intervened in 1862. He saw an opportunity of vindicating a great cause, that of the working men, which would outflank the Liberalism of the middle classes, and might command the sympathy and respect of the Government. But his political programme was entirely subordinate to the social—that of bettering the condition of the working classes; and he believed that as their champion

he might have such influence in the Prussian State as to compel it to enter on a great career of social amelioration.

As might be expected, he was not a man to be bound by the formulas of Prussian Liberalism, and in a lecture, *On the Nature of a Constitution*, delivered early in 1862, he expounded views entirely at variance with them. In this lecture his aim was to show that a constitution is not a theory or a document written on paper: it is the expression of the strongest political forces of the time. The king, the nobility, the middle class, the working class, all these are forces in the polity of Prussia; but the strongest of all is the king, who possesses in the army a means of political power which is organised, excellently disciplined, always at hand, and always ready to march. The army is the basis of the actual working constitution of Prussia. In the struggle against a Government resting on such a basis, verbal protests and compromises were of no avail.

In the second lecture, *What Next?* Lassalle proceeded to maintain that there was only one method by which the Liberals could effectually resist the Government: to proclaim the facts of the political situation as they were, and then to retire from the Chamber. By remaining they only gave a false appearance of legality to the doings of the Government.

In a pamphlet subsequently published under the title of *Might and Right*, Lassalle defended himself against the accusation that in these lectures he had subordinated the claims of Right to those of Force. He had, he said, not been expressing his own views of what ought to be: he had simply been elucidating facts in an historical way. He now went on to declare that no one in the Prussian State had any right to speak of Right but the old and genuine democracy. It had always cleaved to the Right, degrading itself by no compromise with power. With the democracy alone is Right, and with it alone will be Might.

We need not say that these utterances of Lassalle had no influence on the march of events. Bismarck pushed on the reorganisation of the army with supplies obtained without the consent of the Prussian Chambers, while the Liberal members protested in vain against the policy of blood and

iron, until the great victory over Austria in 1866 furnished an ample justification for the policy of Bismarck.

But their publication marked an important crisis in Lassalle's own career, for they did not recommend him to the favourable consideration of the German Liberals, with whom he had previously endeavoured to act. He and they never had much sympathy with one another. The Liberals were fettered by formulas, as well as wanting in energy and initiative. On the other hand, his adventurous career, his temperament, which disposed him to rebel against the conventionalities and formulas generally, his loyalty to the extreme democracy of 1848, all brought him into disharmony with the current Liberalism of his time. They gave him no tokens of their confidence, and he chose a path of his own.

A more decisive step in the new direction was taken later, in 1862, by his lecture, *The Working Men's Programme: On the special Connection of the present Epoch of History with the Idea of a Working Class*. The gist of this lecture was to show that Germany was entering on a new era of history, of which the working class were the makers and representatives, and to urge the workers to regard universal suffrage as its first effective political weapon. It was a masterly performance, lucid in style, and scientific in method of treatment.

This exposition of the vocation of the working class is closely connected with another notable feature of Lassalle's teaching—his *Theory of the State*. Lassalle's theory of the State differs entirely from that generally held by the Liberal school. The Liberal school held that the function of the State consists simply in protecting the personal freedom and the property of the individual. This he scouts as a night-watchman's idea, because it conceives the sole function of the State to be the prevention of robbery and burglary.

In opposition to this narrow idea of the State, Lassalle quotes approvingly the view of August Boeckh: "That we must widen our notion of the State so as to believe that the State is the institution in which the whole virtue of humanity should be realised."

History, Lassalle tells us, is an incessant struggle with Nature, with the misery, ignorance, poverty, weakness, and

unfreedom in which the human race was originally placed.[1] The progressive victory over this weakness, that is the development of the freedom which history depicts.

In this struggle, if the individual had been left to himself, he could have made no progress. The State it is which has the function to accomplish this development of freedom, this development of the human race in the way of freedom. The duty of the State is to enable the individual to reach a sum of culture, power, and freedom which for individuals would be absolutely unattainable. The aim of the State is to bring human nature to positive unfolding and progressive development—in other words, to realise the chief end of man : it is the education and development of the human race in the way of freedom.

The State should be the complement of the individual. It must be ready to offer a helping hand, wherever and whenever individuals are unable to realise the happiness, freedom, and culture which befit a human being.

To these political conceptions Lassalle is true throughout. It certainly is a nobler and more rational ideal of the State than the once prevalent Manchester theory. When we descend from theory to practice, all obviously depends on what sort of a State we have got and the conditions under which it functions.

The publication of Lassalle's pamphlet, *The Working Men's Programme*, attracted to its author the attentions of the Prussian police. He was brought to trial on the charge of exciting the poor against the rich, and in spite of an able defence, published under the title of *Science and the Workers*, he was condemned to four months' imprisonment. But he appealed, and on the second hearing of the case made such an impression on the judges that the sentence was commuted into a fine of £15.

Such proceedings naturally brought Lassalle into prominence as the exponent of a new way of thinking on social and political subjects. A section of the working men were, like himself, discontented with the current German Liberalism. The old democracy of 1848 was beginning to awake from the

[1] See *Working Men's Programme.*

apathy and lassitude consequent on the failures of that troubled period. Men imbued with the traditions and aspirations of such a time could not be satisfied with the half-hearted programme of the Progressists, who would not decide on adopting universal suffrage as part of their policy, yet wished to utilise the workmen for their own ends. A Liberalism which had not the courage to be frankly democratic, could only be a temporary and unsatisfactory phase of political development.

This discontent found expression at Leipzig, where a body of workmen had formed a Central Committee for the calling together of a Working Men's Congress. With Lassalle, they had common ground in their discontent with the Progressists, and in 1863 they applied to him, in the hope that he might suggest a definite line of action. Lassalle replied in an *Open Letter*, with a political and social-economic programme, which, for lucidity and comprehensiveness of statement, left nothing to be desired. In the *Working Men's Programme* Lassalle had drawn the rough outlines of a new historic period, in which the interests of labour should be paramount ; in the *Open Letter*, which has well been called the Charter of German Socialism, he expounds the political, social, and economic principles which should guide the working men in inaugurating the new era. It was the first historic act in a new stage of social development. We need not say that it marked the definite rupture of Lassalle with German Liberalism.

In the *Open Letter* the guiding principles of the social democratic agitation of Lassalle are given with absolute clearness and decision : he urged that the working men should form an independent political party in which the political programme should be entirely subordinated to the great social end of improving the condition of their class ; that the association schemes of Schulze-Delitzsch [1] for this end were inadequate ; that the operation of the Iron Law of Wages prevented any real improvement under the existing conditions ;

[1] Schulze-Delitzsch was born in 1808 at Delitzsch, in Prussian Saxony. It was his great merit that he founded the co-operative movement in Germany on the principles of self-help. He was a leading member of the Progressist Party.

that productive associations, by which the workmen should secure the full product of their labour, should be established by the State, founded on universal suffrage, and therefore truly representative of the people.

Lassalle's most careful statement of the Iron Law of Wages, which is the key to his social-economic position, is contained in his *Open Letter*: "The Iron Economic Law, which, in existing circumstances, under the law of supply and demand for labour, determines the wage, is this: that the average wage always remains reduced to the necessary provision which, according to the customary standard of living, is required for subsistence and for propagation. . . . It cannot permanently rise above this average level, because in consequence of the easier and better condition of the workers there would be an increase of marriages and births among them, an increase of the working population and thereby of the supply of labour, which would bring the wage down to its previous level or even below it. On the other hand, the wage cannot permanently fall below this necessary subsistence, because then occur emigration, abstinence from marriage, and, lastly, a diminution of the number of workmen caused by their misery, which lessens the supply of labour, and therefore once more raises the wage to its previous rate."

Such is Lassalle's theory of the Iron Law of Wages. He accepted it as taught by Ricardo and the economists of the orthodox school in England, France, and Germany, and he accepted it in order to show that the inevitable operation of its laws left no hope for the working class; and that no remedy could be found except by abolishing the conditions in which those laws have their validity—in other words, by abolishing the present relations of labour and capital altogether. The great aim of his agitation was to bring forward a scheme which would strike at the root of the evil. The remedy for the evil condition of things connected with the Iron Law of Wages is to secure to the workmen the full produce of their labour, by combining the functions of workmen and capitalists through the establishment of productive associations. The distinction between labourer and capitalist is thereby abolished. The workman becomes producer, and

for the remuneration receives the entire produce of his labour. The only way to improve the condition of the working class is through the free individual associations of the workers. The working class must be its own capitalist.

But when the workmen on the one hand contemplate the enormous sums required for railways and factories, and on the other hand consider the emptiness of their own pockets, they may naturally ask where they are to obtain the capital needed for the great industry? The State alone can furnish it; and the State ought to furnish it, because it is, and always has been, the duty of the State to promote and facilitate the great progressive movements of civilisation. *Productive association with State credit* was the plan of Lassalle.[1]

The State had already in numerous instances guaranteed its credit for industrial undertakings by which the rich classes had benefited—canals, postal services, banks, agricultural improvements, and especially in the case of railways. No outcry of socialism or communism had been raised against this form of State help. Then why raise it when the greatest problem of modern civilisation was involved—the improvement of the lot of the working classes? Lassalle's estimate was that the loan of a hundred million thalers (£15,000,000) would be more than sufficient to bring the principle of association into full movement throughout the kingdom of Prussia.

The State had spent hundreds of millions in war, to appease the wounded vanity of royal mistresses, to satisfy the lust of conquest of princes, to open up markets for the middle classes; Lassalle urged that it ought now to spend a little in the deliverance of humanity.

Obviously the money required for the promotion of productive associations did not require to be actually paid by the Government: only the State guarantee for the loan was necessary. A democratic State would see that proper rules for the association should be made and observed by them, and would reserve to itself the rights of a creditor or sleeping partner. It would generally take care that the funds were put to their legitimate use. But its control would not pass beyond those reasonable limits: the associations would be

[1] See *Open Letter*, passim.

free; they would be the voluntary creation of the working men themselves.

Further, as he takes care to explain, Lassalle did not propose his scheme of productive associations as the solution of the social question. The solution of the social question would demand generations. He proposed his scheme as the means of transition, as the easiest and mildest means of transition. It was the germ, the organic principle of an incessant development.

The Leipzig committee accepted the policy sketched by Lassalle in his *Open Letter*, and invited him to address them in person. After hearing him, the meeting voted in his favour by a majority of one thousand three hundred against seven.

A subsequent appearance at Frankfort-on-the-Maine was even more flattering to him. In that as in most other towns of Germany, the workmen were generally disposed to support Schulze and the Progressist Party. Lassalle, therefore, had the hard task of conciliating and gaining a hearing from a hostile audience. His first speech, four hours in length, met at times with a stormy reception, and was frequently interrupted. Yet he gained the sympathy of his audience by his eloquence and the intrinsic interest of his matter, and the applause increased as he went on. When, two days afterwards, he addressed them a second time, the assembly voted for Lassalle by four hundred to forty. It was a great triumph. Like Napoleon, he had, he said, beaten the enemy with their own troops. On the following day he addressed a meeting at Mainz, where seven hundred workmen unanimously declared in his favour.

These successes seemed to justify Lassalle in taking the decisive step of his agitation—the foundation of the Universal German Working Men's Association, which followed at Leipzig on 23rd May 1863. Its programme was a simple one, containing only one point—universal suffrage.

Hitherto Lassalle had been an isolated individual, expressing on his own responsibility an opinion on the topics of the day. He was elected President, for five years, of the newly founded Association, and was, therefore, the head of a new

movement. He had crossed the Rubicon, not without hesitation and misgiving.

In the summer of 1863 little was accomplished. The membership of the Association grew but slowly, and, according to his wont, Lassalle retired to the baths to recruit his health. In the autumn he renewed his agitation by a "review" of his forces on the Rhine, where the workmen were most enthusiastic in his favour. But the severest crisis of his agitation befell during the winter of 1863–64. At this period his labours were almost more than human: he wrote his *Bastiat-Schulze*,[1] a considerable controversial treatise far below the level of his other works, in about three months, defended himself before the courts both of Berlin and the Rhine in elaborate speeches, conducted the affairs of his Association in all their troublesome details, and often before stormy and hostile audiences gave a succession of addresses, the aim of which was the conquest of Berlin.

The main burden of the *Bastiat-Schulze* is Lassalle's account of capital and labour. For Lassalle, *capital is an historic category*, a product of historical circumstances, the rise of which we can trace, the disappearance of which, under altered circumstances, we can foresee. In other words, capital is the name for a system of economic, social, and legal conditions which are the result severally and collectively of a long and gradual process of historical development. The *Bastiat-Schulze* is an elucidation of these conditions. The following may be taken as a general statement of them:

1. The division of labour in connection with the large industry.
2. A system of production for exchange in the great world-markets.
3. Free competition.
4. The instruments of labour the property of a special class, who, after paying
5. A class of free labourers in accordance with the

[1] Bastiat was the populariser in France of the orthodox Political Economy. Lassalle accused Schulze of being a mere echo of Bastiat's superfiical views, and therefore called him Bastiat-Schulze.

Iron Law of Wages, pocket the surplus value. Property consists not in the fruit of one's own labour, but in the appropriation of that of others. *Eigenthum ist Fremdthum geworden.*[1]

In this way capital has become an independent, active, and self-generating power which oppresses its producer. Money makes money. The labour of the past, appropriated and capitalised, crushes the labour of the present. "The dead captures the living." "The instrument of labour, which has become independent and has exchanged *rôles* with the workmen, which has degraded the living workmen to a dead instrument of labour, and has developed itself, the dead instrument of labour, into the living organ of production—that is capital."[2] In such highly metaphorical language does Lassalle sum up his history of capital. We have already commented on that aspect of it, the Iron Law of Wages, which Lassalle has most emphasised. The whole subject is much more comprehensively treated by Karl Marx in *Das Kapital*; therefore we need not dwell upon it further at present.

It will not be wrong, however, to say a word here about the use of the word capital, as current in the school of socialists to which Lassalle and Marx belong. It is not applied by them in its purely economic sense, as wealth utilised for the production of more wealth: it is used as the name of the social and economic system in which the owners of capital are the dominant power. With them it is the economic factor as operating under the existing legal and social conditions, with all these conditions clinging to it. It would be much better to restrict the word to its proper economic use, and employ the word capitalism as a fairly accurate name for the existing system.

No real excuse can be offered for the ignorance or confusion of language of controversialists who maintain that the object of socialism is to abolish capital. So far from abolishing capital, socialists wish to make it still more effective for social well-being by placing it under social control. What they

[1] *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. 186. [2] *Ibid*, p. 181.

wish to abolish is the capitalist system, in which capital is under the control of individuals or a class.

We have already remarked upon Lassalle's theory of State and his treatment of the Iron Law of Wages. Our further criticism of his social-economic position can be best brought out by reference to his controversy with Schulze-Delitzsch, the economic representative of German Liberalism.

In general it may be said that Lassalle meets the one-sided individualism of Schulze by a statement of the socialistic theory, which is also one-sided and exaggerated. His view of the influence of the community as compared with that of the individual is the most prominent example of this. The only accurate social philosophy is one which gives due attention to both factors ; both are of supreme importance, and either may fitly be the starting-point of investigation and discussion.

His theory of conjunctures or economic crises is overstated, although to a considerable degree well founded ; in the great economic storms which sweep over the civilised world the fate of the individual is largely determined by conditions over which he has no control. Yet now as ever the homely virtues of industry, energy, sobriety, and prudence do materially determine the individual career.

For our present purpose, however, it is more important to consider Lassalle's polemic against the practical proposals of his opponent. Lassalle contended that the Schulze unions for providing credit and raw material would benefit the hand-workers only, whereas hand-labour is destined to disappear before the large industry. For the methods of Schulze it may be claimed that they did not provide a ready-made solution of the social question, but were the beginning. In this way the workmen may attain to the complete management of their own industrial interests with their own joint capital. They may thus obtain for themselves the full product of their labour, in which case the objection of Lassalle, with regard to the increase of populations, under the influence of the cheap provisions supplied by the stores, would no more apply to the scheme of Schulze than they would to his own. In both cases we are to suppose that the means of subsistence would be more abundant and more easily obtained ; in both cases there

might be the risk of a too rapidly increasing population. We may suppose that this increase of population would be met by a still greater increase in the product of labour, all going to the workers. But for the schemes of Schulze there would be this great advantage that, the capital and experience of the workers having been acquired by their own exertions, they would have all the superior training requisite for the solution of the population question and all other questions, which can be obtained only from a long course of social discipline.

Lassalle would have done well to remember his own statement, that the only real point of difference between them was, that one believed in State help and the other in "self help." And we may further ask, Do the two exclude each other ?

In fact, the controversy, considered purely on its merits, was barren enough. Yet it led to profitable results, inasmuch as it directed the mind of Germany to the questions involved, and led to a more thorough discussion of them.

After all these labours, little wonder that we find Lassalle needing rest, and he decided to seek it, as usual, at the baths. But before he retired, he desired once more to refresh his weary soul in the sympathetic enthusiasm which he anticipated from his devoted adherents on the Rhine. Accordingly, on the 8th May 1864, Lassalle departed for the "glorious review of his army" in the Rhine country. His journey was like a royal progress or a triumphal procession : thousands of workmen received him with acclamations ; crowds pressed upon him to shake hands and to exchange friendly greetings with him.

On the 22nd May, at the first anniversary festival of the Universal Association, held at Ronsdorf, the enthusiasm reached its climax. Old and young, men and women, went forth to meet him as he approached the town ; and he entered it through triumphal arches, under a deluge of flowers thrown from the hands of working girls, amidst jubilation indescribable. Writing to the Countess Hatzfeldt about this time of the impression made on his mind by his reception on the Rhine, Lassalle says, "I had the feeling that such scenes must have been witnessed at the founding of new religions."

It would be easy to ridicule the enthusiasm for Lassalle entertained by those workmen on the Rhine, but it will be more profitable if we pause for a moment to realise the world-historic pathos of the scene. For the first time for many centuries we see the working men of Germany aroused from their hereditary degradation, apathy, and hopelessness. Change after change had passed in the higher spheres of politics. One conqueror after another had traversed these Rhine countries, but, whoever lost or won, it was the working man who had to pay with his toil and sweat and sorrow. He was the anvil on which the hammer of those iron times had fallen without mercy and without intermission. His doom it was to drudge, to be fleeced, to be drilled and marched off to fight battles in which he had no interest. Brief and fitful gleams of a wild and desperate hope had visited these poor people before, only to go out again in utter darkness; but now, in a sky which had so long been black and dull with monotonous misery, the rays were discernible of approaching dawn, a shining light which would grow into a more perfect day. For in the process of history the time had come when the suffering which had so long been dumb would find a voice that could be heard over the world, would find an organisation that could compel the attention of rulers and all men.

Such a cause can be most effectually furthered by wise and sane leadership; yet it is also well when it is not too dependent on the guidance of those who seek to control it. The career of Lassalle always had its unpleasant features. He liked the passing effect too well. He was too fond of display and pleasure. In much that he did there is a note of exaggeration, bordering on insincerity. Some of his addresses to the workmen remind us too forcibly of the bulletins of the first Napoleon. He was not always careful to have the firm ground of fact and reality beneath his feet. Many of his critics speak of the failure of his agitation—with no good reason, considering how short a time it had continued, hardly more than a year. Lassalle himself was greatly disappointed with the comparatively little success he had attained. He had not the patience to wait till the sure opera-

tion of truth and fact and the justice of the cause he fought for should bring him the reward it merited.

While posing as the spokesman of the poor, Lassalle was a man of decidedly fashionable and luxurious habits. His suppers were well known as among the most exquisite in Berlin. It was the most piquant feature of his life that he, one of the gilded youth, a connoisseur in wines, and a learned man to boot, had become agitator and the champion of the workers. On all these grounds we cannot consider the event which so unworthily closed his life as an accident: it was the melancholy outcome of the weaker elements in his strangely mixed character. In one of the literary and fashionable circles of Berlin he had met a young lady, a Fräulein von Dönniges, for whom he at once felt a passion which was ardently reciprocated. He met her again on the Rigi, in the summer of 1864, when they resolved to marry. She was a young lady of twenty, decidedly unconventional and original in character. It would appear from her own confession that she had not always respected the sacred German morality.

But she had for father a Bavarian diplomatist, then resident in Geneva, who was angry beyond all bounds when he heard of the proposed match, and would have absolutely nothing to do with Lassalle. The lady was imprisoned in her own room, and soon, apparently under the influence of very questionable pressure, renounced Lassalle in favour of another admirer, a Wallachian, Count von Racowitza. Lassalle, who had resorted to every available means to gain his end, was now mad with rage, and sent a challenge both to the lady's father and her betrothed, which was accepted by the latter. At the Carouge, a suburb of Geneva, the meeting took place on the morning of 28th August 1864. Lassalle was mortally wounded, and died on the 31st of the same month. In spite of such a foolish ending, his funeral was that of a martyr, and by many of his adherents he was regarded with feelings almost of religious devotion.

How the career of Lassalle might have shaped itself in the new Germany, under the system of universal suffrage, which was adopted only three years after his death, is an

interesting subject of speculation. He could not have remained inactive, and he certainly would not have been hindered by doctrinaire scruples from playing an effective part, even though it were by some kind of alliance with the Government. His ambition and his energy were alike boundless. In the heyday of his passion for Fräulein von Dönniges, his dream was to be installed as the President of the German Republic, with her elevated by his side. As it was, his position at his death was rapidly becoming difficult and even untenable ; he was involved in a net of prosecutions which were fast closing round him. He would soon have had no alternative but exile or a prolonged imprisonment.

Lassalle was undoubtedly a man of the most extraordinary endowments. The reader of his works feels that he is in the presence of a mind of a very high order. Both in his works and in his life we find an exceptional combination of gifts, philosophic power, eloquence, enthusiasm, practical energy, a dominating force of will. Born of a cosmopolitan race, he was to a remarkable degree original, active, and free from social prejudice. He had, in fact, a revolutionary temperament, disciplined by the study of German philosophy, by the sense of the greatness of Prussia's historic mission, and by a considerable measure of practical insight, for in this he was not by any means wanting. In Marx we see the same temperament, only in his case it was stronger, more solid, self-restrained, matured by wider reflection, and especially by the study of the economic development of Europe, continued for a period of forty years.

But, on the whole, Lassalle was a *vis intemperata*. He was deficient in sober-mindedness, self-control, and in that saving gift of common sense without which the highest endowments may be unprofitable and even hurtful to their possessors and to the world. Yet he was privileged to inaugurate a great movement. As the founder of the Social Democracy of Germany, he has earned a place on the roll of historic names. He possessed in a notable degree the originality, energy, and sympathy which fit a man to be the champion of a new cause.

We may go farther and say that at that date Germany

had only two men whose insight into the facts and tendencies of their time was in some real degree adequate to the occasion —Bismarck and Lassalle. The former represented an historic cause, which was ready for action, the regeneration and unification of Germany to be accomplished by the Prussian army. The cause which Lassalle brought to the front was at a very different stage of progress. The working men, its promoters and representatives, and Lassalle, its champion, had not attained to anything like clearness either as to the end to be gained or the means for accomplishing it. The cause of social democracy was only at the crudest and most confused initial stage.

The socialistic position of Lassalle may generally be described as similar to that of Rodbertus and Karl Marx. He admits his indebtedness to both those writers, but at the same time he cannot be regarded as a disciple of either of them. Lassalle himself was a thinker of great original power; he had his own way of conceiving and expressing the historic socialism.

Lassalle supplies the key to his general position in the preface to his *Bastiat-Schulze*, when, quoting from his *System of Acquired Rights*, he asks, "Whether the free realisation and development of our labour-force should be the exclusive private property of the possessor of capital, and whether the employer as such, and apart from the remuneration of his intellectual labour, should be permitted to appropriate the result of other men's labours?" [1] This sentence contains the programme of a national economic work, which he intended to write under the title, *Outlines of a Scientific National Economy*. In this sentence also, we need not say, the fundamental position of socialism is implied. He was about to carry out his project when the Leipzig Central Committee brought the question before him in a practical form. The agitation broke out and left him no leisure for such a work. Lassalle never gave a full and systematic exposition of his socialistic theory. He had often lamented that the exposition of the theory had not preceded the practical agitation, and that a scientific basis had not been provided for it. All his

[1] *Bastiat-Schulze*, p. iii. Berlin, 1878.

social-economic writings were published as the crises of his agitation seemed to demand.

Possibly, had he had the time to revise and expand his ideas, he would considerably have modified his ideal of State help. It is certain that the Government of Germany, though organised on the principle of universal suffrage, did not grant the credit demanded by Lassalle, and that his agitation in this matter failed owing, it might be alleged, to his early death, and to the fact that after his death German socialism moved on international, and even anti-national, lines, thus alienating from itself the sympathies of Bismarckian Germany. We need not say how very improbable it is that the German Government would have guaranteed its credit, however submissive and conciliatory the attitude of the Social Democrats might have been. The Social Democrats themselves, though they gave a place to Lassalle's scheme on the Gotha programme of 1875,[1] attached little or no importance to it. It does not appear in the Erfurt programme of the party, which was adopted in 1891.[2] In short, Lassalle's agitation was, in the point immediately in question, a failure. At the same time it would be absolutely incorrect to assert that experience has pronounced against his scheme, inasmuch as no Government has ever seriously taken it in hand.

Like many other pioneers, Lassalle did not accomplish what he intended, yet he achieved great results. We may well sum up the controversy between Lassalle and Schulze by stating that by 1885 the societies founded by the latter had, in Germany, a membership of 1,500,000, with a capital of £15,000,000; and at the election of 1890 the Social Democracy of Germany, originated by Lassalle, polled 1,427,000 votes. Both started great movements, which were destined to be greater still.

[1] See Appendix I. [2] See Appendix II.

CHAPTER V

German Social Democracy, 1865–1914

IN spite of the efforts of many able propagandists and reformers, the German middle and working classes, even as late as 1865, were still in their political infancy, and in truth their Liberal leaders had neither the insight nor the material means to lead the democracy against the forces of reaction with any prospect of success. The Liberals rarely led the progressive forces with any degree of courage and resolution, and often, when the choice had to be made between reaction and a strenuous democratic policy supported by the proletariat, they preferred to compromise with reaction, and so committed treason to the cause of progress. On this question largely turns the history of German politics prior to the Great War of 1914–18.

The parting of the ways between the Liberals and the Social Democrats came almost at the outset. The chief aim of the Social Democrats was universal suffrage—which, as it would strengthen conservatism by the peasant vote—was opposed by the Liberals. The Liberals further treated the workmen as subordinates, or, at the best, as dependent allies. The working men were not willing to be so treated, and they turned to Lassalle, with the result already narrated. As time went on the breach widened—the German middle class followed the policy of making the best terms with reaction, while the socialists urged that this meant the sacrifice of democratic ideals to the material interests of the middle class.

The working men, finding themselves neglected or repudiated by those who, according to the natural laws of historical development, should, for a time at least, have been their leaders, now gave ear to men of revolutionary views and antecedents like Lassalle and Marx; and in this way formed a revolutionary party which in many ways did not have a

salutary organic relation to the main stream of German life. With the forces of progress thus split, reaction triumphed, and the result was Bismarckian Germany.

In the Germany of this period, 1865–90, the German working man had no share or experience in government, either local or national. The right of combination, of free speech in a free meeting, and even of free movement, had been denied him for generations, and if he attempted to assert himself in any of these ways it was probable that he would come into collision with the police and the courts of law. With Lassalle's death in 1864, and the appointment of the mediocre Bernhard Becker as his successor as President of the Universal Working Men's Association, the working man felt that he had no leaders of outstanding merit whom he could trust. Nameless degradation prevailed in too many of the industrial regions on the Rhine, in Saxony and Silesia. Men, women, and children were worked for fifteen hours a day. Hand labour was disappearing with the wonted unspeakable suffering before the machinery brought in by the industrial revolution. Both the hand labour and the factory labour of Germany suffered under the pressure of the competition of the more advanced mechanical industry of England.

In the lot of the German working man there was thus little light, leading, or hope. The men who represented State and Church, law and learning, and who should have been responsible for his guidance, were too often found among his oppressors.

In view of facts like these, need we wonder that Lassalle, with all his eloquence and energy, had found it difficult to rouse the German working men out of their apathy and hopelessness? Under such depressing circumstances it was no particular disgrace for an ordinary man like Bernhard Becker to fail. Becker's tenure of presidency was of short duration. He was succeeded by Tölcke, a man of ability and energy; but at his entrance into office the prospects of the Association were not bright. The funds in its treasury amounted to only six thalers, or eighteen shillings. If finance be the test of success, the Association founded by Lassalle was indeed at a very low ebb.

The brightest feature in the early history of the Association was the *Sozialdemokrat*, a paper founded by Schweitzer—an ardent and able if not stainless disciple of Lassalle—at the end of 1864, and which had on its list of contributors the names of Marx and Engels. But even here the evil fortune of the Association clung to it. In a series of articles on Bismarck, Schweitzer had given expression to views regarding that statesman which were highly displeasing to the two revolutionists in England, and they publicly renounced all connection with the paper. Following Lassalle, Schweitzer had shown his readiness to join hands with the Conservatives of Prussia when circumstances made it advisable in the interests of the Social Democracy. Such a policy met with no favour in the eyes of Marx and Engels. They demanded from Schweitzer the same energetic opposition to the feudal and reactionary party as he showed to the Progressists. Schweitzer claimed the right to shape his tactics in accordance with the situation of affairs in Prussia, which he knew better than men living in exile. A socialist who could take a lucid and comprehensive view of the theories which he professed, a man of the world of real insight and tact, Schweitzer, by his articles in the *Sozialdemokrat*, rendered effectual service to the Association and to the socialist cause in Germany at a most critical time in their history.

During those years the political condition of Germany was most uncertain and chaotic, and the Association had to grope its way through the darkness as best it could. It was a new party, composed of members who had no experience of common action, and who had with much labour and perplexity to work out a set of common convictions. Under the circumstances a clear line of policy was impossible. The first mighty step out of this political chaos was made in 1866, when Bismarck, after defeating Austria, established the North German Confederation. The elections to the North German Diet, which was now established, were based on universal suffrage. The first North German Diet met in 1867, and in the same year Schweitzer was elected president of the Association founded by Lassalle. How were the Social Democrats of Germany to relate themselves to the new order

of things? Before answering this question we must say something of important movements which were proceeding on the Social Democratic side.

The adherents of the Universal Working Men's Association were drawn chiefly from Prussia and North Germany. In Saxony and South Germany there had meanwhile grown up a new working men's party, from which Schweitzer encountered the most strenuous opposition. Under the influence of the new life which prevailed in Germany in the years following 1860, many workmen's unions were established. As it was dangerous to make too open a profession of a political object, these unions adopted the name of workmen's educative associations (*Arbeiterbildungsvereine*). Some of these working men's associations had attached themselves to Lassalle, but from the first many had held aloof from him. Many of these associations had been founded and promoted under Liberal Democratic influences, and their aim may generally be described as political and educational rather than economical; but it would be more accurate still to describe them as having no clear aims, and as on the look out for a policy rather than possessing one. It is certain that as Saxons and South Germans they were to a large degree inspired by the hatred to the growing ascendancy of Prussia which prevailed around them.

Shortly after the founding of Lassalle's Association, a union of the Working Men's Associations which continued loyal to the Progressist Party was founded at Frankfort in 1863, and was intended to form a bulwark against the influence of Lassalle. But this union of associations speedily began to move in the direction of democracy, and through democracy to socialism. Two men were chiefly responsible for this result, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel.

Liebknecht, who counted Luther among his ancestors, and was descended from the learned middle class of Germany, had taken an active part in the revolutionary disturbances in Germany in 1848, had been a member of the group of exiles that gathered round Karl Marx in London, and from him had imbibed the principles of international revolutionary socialism. He had joined the Universal Association of

Lassalle, but he never enjoyed the entire confidence of his chief. His friend, August Bebel, was a working man, who, being left an orphan at an early age, had been educated at charity schools. Brought up to the handicraft of turner, Bebel continued with the most laudable diligence and thoroughness to educate himself. By his acquirements, his natural talent, and his force of character, he soon gained considerable influence among his comrades, and before long became a force in the German workmen's unions.

At first Bebel was merely a radical of strong convictions, and he had no love for a socialistic agitation like that of Lassalle, which was to adapt itself so much to Prussian nationalism. It was only a question of time, however, when a nature so thorough and strenuous would make the transition from radicalism to socialism. As the representative man of the German workmen's educative associations, we see him making his way in a few short years to Social Democracy, and the associations followed him step by step. Influential members soon expressed their preference for universal suffrage. The Union of associations at its meeting in Stuttgart in 1865 declared for universal suffrage, whilst their organ in the same year repudiated the Schulze-Delitzsch schemes in the most emphatic language. In 1866 a great meeting of workmen's associations at Chemnitz in Saxony adopted a programme which on its political side was entirely democratic, and on its economic side made considerable advances towards socialism. At its Congress in Nuremberg in 1868 the Union by a large majority declared its adhesion to the principles of the International. In a great Congress at Eisenach in 1869 they founded the Social Democratic Working Men's Party, and in the same year sent representatives to the International Congress at Basel. The Union which had been designed by the Progressists as a bulwark against Social Democracy had proved a roadway by which the workmen marched into the enemy's camp.

Thus two socialist parties were established in Germany—the Lassalle Association, which had its membership chiefly in Prussia, and the Eisenach Party, which found support in Saxony and South Germany. Both parties were represented

in the North German Diet, in which at one time as many as six socialists sat. They now had a tribune from which to address the German people, but it cannot be said that they were particularly grateful to Bismarck for the opportunity which he had given them. To men of the revolutionary party of 1848, whose ideal had been the unification of Germany under the free initiative of the people, the work of Bismarck could not appear a very delightful consummation, even though it was accompanied with the gift of universal suffrage. Schweitzer regarded the North German Confederation as a very unpleasant and very unwelcome, but yet irrevocable fact, and he urged that the Social Democrats would have to establish themselves as the regular opposition if they wished to continue a political party.

Liebknecht, on the other hand, looked upon the North German Confederation as a reactionary work of violence and injustice that must be overthrown. In order not to strengthen it, he repudiated all practical participation in the legislative measures of the Diet. The parliamentary tribune was only a platform from which he could hurl his protest against the new arrangement of things among the masses of the German people. In his opinion the creation of Bismarck meant the division, weakening, and servitude of Germany, and history would march over its ruins.

During the Franco-German War of 1870–71, the flood of patriotic enthusiasm for a time almost submerged the socialistic agitation. At the commencement of hostilities Liebknecht and Bebel refrained from voting on the question of a war loan ; they disapproved alike of the policy of Prussia and of Napoleon. The other socialist deputies, including Schweitzer, voted for it, as the victory of Napoleon III. would mean the overthrow of the socialist workmen in France, the supremacy of the French soldiery in Europe, and the complete disintegration of Germany. But after the fall of the French Empire all of them voted against a further loan, and recommended the speediest conclusion of peace with the Republic, without annexation of French territory. Such views did not meet with much acceptance in Germany, either from Government or people. Several of the socialist leaders

were thrown into prison, and at the first election to the German Reichstag in 1871, the socialists counted only 102,000 votes, and returned two members.

Soon afterwards Schweitzer announced his intention of retiring from the leadership of the Universal Working Men's Association. He had been defeated at the general election. His position at the head of the Association, which, as we have seen, was a species of dictatorship, was no longer tenable. His trials and struggles with the Prussian police and courts of justice, the troubles he experienced in the midst of his own party, the persecution and calumny which he endured from the opposing Eisenach party, the sacrifice of time and money, of health and quiet, which were inseparable from such a post, had made it a very uneasy one. He had conducted the affairs of the Association with tact, insight, and appreciation of the situation to which his successors in the leadership of the German socialists have rarely been able to attain. He died in Switzerland in 1875.

About the same time, in the spring of 1871, came the tidings of the great rising of the working class in the Commune in Paris. Mass meetings of German workmen were held in Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Dresden, Leipzig, and other large towns, to express their sympathy with their French brethren in the struggle which they were waging. In the Reichstag Bebel made a speech which contained the following passage: "Be assured that the entire European proletariat, and all that have a feeling for freedom and independence in their heart, have their eyes fixed on Paris. And if Paris is for the present crushed, I remind you that the struggle in Paris is only a small affair of outposts, that the main conflict in Europe is still before us, and that ere many decades pass away the battle-cry of the Prussian proletariat, war to the palace, peace to the cottage, death to want and idleness, will be the battle-cry of the entire European proletariat."

When the war fever of 1871 subsided, the socialistic agitation resumed its course, and it was fostered by the wild speculations of the time and by the industrial crisis which followed it. At the elections of 1874 the socialist party polled 340,000 votes and returned nine members.

From Lassalle's first appearance on the scene in 1862, the socialistic agitation had encountered the German police at every step of its career. Its leaders were prosecuted and thrown into prison. Liebknecht and Bebel were condemned to two years' imprisonment in a fortress after the great trial at Leipzig, in 1872, and both were glad, they said, to do their two years, because of the splendid opportunity it had given them for socialistic propaganda during their trial. Meetings were broken up, newspapers and organisations were suppressed, and the free expression of opinion was curtailed in every way. Such bitter experience taught the socialist leaders the advantage and necessity of union in face of the common enemy. The retirement of Schweitzer from the control of the Lassalle party in 1871 had removed the most serious obstacle to union. Hasenclever had been elected president in his stead, but it was felt that the party had outgrown the autocratic guidance which had been helpful and perhaps necessary to it in its early years. All the tendencies and influences of the time served to bring the Lassalle and the Eisenach parties together. They were pursuing the same aims, under the same conditions, against the same opposition; and there was really nothing now to keep them apart except the recollection of old rivalries and animosities which soon faded under the pressure of their practical difficulties.

Under these circumstances the process of union was easy, and the fusion of the Eisenach and Lassalle parties was effected in a congress at Gotha in 1875. At this congress 25,000 regular members were represented, of whom 9,000 belonged to the Marx party and 15,000 to that of Lassalle. The united body assumed the name of the Socialistic Working Men's Party of Germany, and drew up a programme, which, as the most important that till that time had been published by any socialistic organisation, deserves to be given entire.[1]

The union of the two parties thus accomplished was the starting-point of a new career of prosperity for the German Social Democracy. At the election of 1877 the new party polled nearly half a million votes, and was represented by twelve members in the Reichstag. This result was largely

[1] See Appendix I.

due to the admirable organisation to which the socialistic propaganda had now attained. A staff of skilful, intelligent, and energetic agitators advocated the new creed in every town of Germany, and they were supported by an effective machinery of newspapers, pamphlets, treatises, social gatherings, and even almanacs, in which the doctrines of socialism were suggested, inculcated, and enforced in every available way. At all the great centres of population—in Berlin, Hamburg, and the industrial towns of Saxony and on the Rhine—the Social Democrats threatened to become the strongest party.

Such a rate of progress, and the aggressive attitude of the spokesmen of the party, frightened the Junkers. Bismarck thought that it would be possible to smash "the enemies at home" by the same methods of "blood and iron" which had been so successful against Denmark, Austria, and France. He found a pretext in two attempts which were made during the summer of 1878 on the life of the aged Kaiser William I. Neither of the would-be but disappointed assassins had been in touch with the socialist party, but the rumour was skilfully circulated by Bismarck's agents that the police investigations had proved such a connection. The Reichstag, indignant and terrified, gave its assent to the "Exceptional Law." A curious feature of the discussions was the tribute which Bismarck paid to the memory of Lassalle, whom he had met three or four times at the request of the latter "and had not regretted it." "Lassalle had something," Bismarck went on, "that attracted me exceedingly as a private man. He was one of the cleverest and most amiable men I have ever met; a man who was ambitious in great style, and by no means a republican; he had very strongly marked national and monarchical feeling, the idea which he strove to realise was the German Empire, and therein we had common ground. Lassalle was ambitious in the grand style; it was doubtful, perhaps, whether the German Empire would close with the Hohenzollern dynasty or the dynasty Lassalle, yet his feeling was monarchical through and through. . . . Lassalle was an energetic and most intellectual man, whose conversation was very instructive; our talks lasted for hours and I always regretted when they came to an end. . . . I should have been

glad to have had a man of such endowments and genius as a neighbouring landlord."

It should be added also that Bismarck saw no objection in principle to the scheme of productive associations with State help recommended by Lassalle. Such experiments were not unreasonable in themselves, and were entirely consistent with the range of duties recognised by the State as he understood them; but the course of political events had not left him the necessary leisure. Before leaving this matter we should note that, as regards universal suffrage and the scheme of productive associations with State help, Bismarck and Lassalle had common ground, on which they could have co-operated without sacrifice of principle on either side.

In this same speech in the Reichstag of 17th September 1878, the Chancellor also explained the origin of his hostility to the Social Democracy. One of its leading representatives, either Bebel or Liebknecht, had, in open sitting, expressed his sympathy with the Commune at Paris. That reference to the Commune had been a ray of light on the question; from that time he felt entirely convinced that the Social Democracy was an enemy against which the State and society must arm themselves.

As we have seen, it was Bebel who had used the objectionable language in the Reichstag; but Liebknecht had never been backward in the frank and uncompromising expression of views of a similar nature. Such views were not the passing feeling of the hour; they were the statement of firm and settled conviction, and may fairly be taken as representative of the beliefs and convictions of the German Social Democracy in general. The Social Democrats were hostile to the existing order in Germany, and they did not hesitate to say so. In these circumstances it is hardly necessary to add that a collision with a Government like that directed by Bismarck was inevitable.

Bismarck himself was a Prussian Junker who had become a great European statesman, but in many ways he remained a Junker to the end of his life. With rare sagacity and strength of will he had shaped the real forces of his time

towards the great end of uniting the Fatherland and restoring it to its fitting place among the nations of Europe. To use his own words, he had lifted Germany into the saddle, and his task afterwards was to keep her there. The methods, however, by which he had accomplished the first part of his task, were scarcely so suitable for the accomplishment of the second.

In the now united Germany he found two enemies which appeared to menace the new structure which he had so laboriously reared: the Black International, or the Ultramontane Party, and the Red International, or the Social Democrats. These enemies he tried to suppress in his usual high-handed way. He was about fifty-six years of age when the German Empire was established, and it was too much to expect of human nature that he should at so late a time in life break away from his antecedents and adopt the methods which would make Germany a free as well as a united State.

His method against the socialists was to pass the anti-socialist laws, which came into force in October 1878. "Now for the pig-sticking," was Bismarck's remark, and for twelve years socialists were severely persecuted: sentences totalling more than a thousand years' penal servitude were passed on socialist speakers and editors; their newspapers were confiscated; and the leaders of the party, except when they were immune as members of the Reichstag, were banished, especially from Prussia and Saxony—in some cases the expulsion orders being delivered, with intentional cruelty, on Christmas Eve. Generally, it may be said that during the operation of the laws the only place in Germany in which the right of free speech could be exercised by the socialists was the tribune of the Reichstag, and the only organisation permitted to them was that formed by the representatives of the party in the Reichstag.

For some time confusion, and to some extent dismay, prevailed among the Social Democrats. But ere long they found that their union and their power did not depend on any formal organisation. As Marx had taught, the organisation of the factory necessarily brings with it the organisation

of the proletariat, and the German workman gradually realised that the union in which he trusted was beyond the reach of repressive laws, however cunningly devised and however brutally exercised.

The want of an organ, however, was greatly felt, and accordingly, in September 1879, the new *Sozialdemokrat* was founded at Zürich, and from 1880 it was edited by Eduard Bernstein with real ability. Every week thousands of copies were dispatched to Germany, and, in spite of all the efforts of the police, were distributed among the Social Democrats in the Fatherland. In 1888 it was removed to London, whence it was issued till the repeal of the anti-socialist laws in 1890.

Bismarck's aim was the absolute smashing of the socialist movement—but it was a complete failure. In spite of all prosecutions, the progress of socialist ideas was irresistible. Each succeeding general election after 1881 registered an increasing protest against Bismarck's policy, as the following figures show :

Election of	Socialist Votes.	Percentage of Total Vote.	Soical Democrats Returned.
1881	312,000	6·1	13
1884	550,000	9·7	24
1887	763,000	10·1	11
1890	1,427,000	19·7	35

Bismarck's methods, far from being effective, were assisting the socialist propaganda by creating martyrs, and soon after his dismissal by William II. in 1890, the Exceptional Law was withdrawn.

This period between 1878 and 1890 is known as the "heroic age" of German socialism. The leaders of that period were Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Ignace Auer, Richard Fischer, and Hermann Molkenbuher. Liebknecht was at all times the consistent and unflinching champion of the revolutionary cause. Bebel's career extended to about fifty years, and was not less consistent and courageous.

Many others, such as Hasenclever, Auer, and Vollmar, served with ability for many years. Eduard Bernstein, who lived for more than twenty years as a refugee in Switzerland and England, and Karl Kautsky, who may be described as the leading theorists of the party during this period, showed wide knowledge, judgment, and clearness of vision, but they had not the endowments that gave Marx and Lassalle their high place in the history of the working class.

In the absence of other guidance, the Social Democratic Party was a centre and a rallying-point to the German workmen. While all else was uncertain, dark, and hostile, the party could be relied upon to give friendly and disinterested counsel. The strikes which from time to time broke out among the German workmen, received the most careful advice and consideration from the Social Democratic leaders, and those leaders soon found that the strikes were the most impressive object-lessons in arousing the class-consciousness of the workmen. Whole masses of the working men went over to the Social Democracy under the severe practical teaching of the period.

The struggle had proved the virility, patience, and discipline of the Social Democrats. They had made a steady and unflinching resistance to the most powerful statesman since the first Napoleon, who wielded all the resources of a great modern State, and who was supported by a Press that used every available means to discredit the movement; and, as a party, they had never been provoked to acts of violence. In fact, they had given proof of all the high qualities which fit men and parties to play a great *rôle* in history. The Social Democratic movement in Germany was one of the most notable phenomena of the nineteenth century.

A most wholesome effect of the adverse experience of the Social Democratic Party was that it sifted from their ranks all who were not thoroughly in earnest in the cause of the working man. It is a grave misfortune of a new movement like socialism that it attracts from the middle and upper classes all manner of faddists and adventurers, vapid and futile talkers, who join the movement, not from real love of

the cause, but because it gives them an opportunity to scheme and harangue, and to lash out at the vices of the existing society. From this dangerous class the German Social Democratic Party was saved by the anti-socialist legislation at a time when socialism was just becoming fashionable.

After the anti-social legislation had ceased, the Social Democratic Party found that its first task was to set its house in order. At a party meeting at Halle in 1890, the party organisation was simplified, the *Sozialdemokrat*, which had been published in London, was discontinued, and the *Vorwaerts* of Berlin was appointed the central organ of the party. In the following year, at the annual meeting of the party at Erfurt, a new programme, superseding that of Gotha, was adopted, and it may fairly be regarded as the most developed expression of Social Democratic principles put forth in the nineteenth century.[1] In this programme collectivism is set forth as the goal of a long process of historical evolution—a goal to be attained by the conscious, intelligent, organised action of the working class of Germany in co-operation with the working classes of other lands. This is the twofold theme of the first part of the programme. The second part is a detailed statement of the social-political arrangements and institutions by which, on and from the existing basis of society, the German Social Democracy may move towards its goal. The programme, a lengthy one, sums up a world of thought on which the Social Democratic mind had been exercised for more than a generation. The materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value of Marx are not expressed in the programme. Thus German Social Democracy was not committed to the special theories of Marx, though the general lines on which the programme was constructed owed their elucidation more to him than to any other man.

From 1890 to 1914 the German Social Democratic Party began to reap some of the harvest it had thus carefully

[1] See Appendix II. for a translation of the programme, which is taken from the Protokoll, or verbatim report, of the party meeting at Stuttgart, 1898, to which it is prefixed.

sown. Its progress may be gauged from the following figures:

Year.	Social Democratic Vote (First Ballot).	Percentage of Total Vote.	Social Democrats Returned.
1890	1,427,298	19·7	35
1893	1,786,738	23·2	44
1898	2,107,076	27·2	56
1903	3.010,771	31·7	81
1907	3,259,020	28·9	43
1912	4.250,329	34·8	110

The German Reichstag was then composed of 397 members.

In this period, from 1890 to 1914, there is no formal change to record in the principles or teaching of the party. Its tactics, while remaining essentially the same, naturally varied to some degree according to circumstances. It adhered to the Erfurt programme. Its single-minded aim was the advocacy and promotion of the interests and ideals of the working class of Germany without formal compromise, and without alliance with other parties, though ready to co-operate with them on particular questions, especially in the State parliaments of South Germany. The party steadily refused to vote for the imperial budgets, not only because voting for budgets was regarded as acquiescence in the regime, and because the revenue was largely expended in support of militarism, but also because so much of it was raised by indirect taxes that it threw an unfair burden on the poorer classes. To the high tariff, which, after long discussion, came into operation in 1906, they offered the most strenuous resistance. They were also in general opposed to the "colonial" policy of the empire. They were the champions of the democratic rights of the people, of free speech, of a free Press, and especially of the right of combination. In all matters relating to factory legislation and the better protection of the working class in its daily life and vocation, they were forward both to make suggestions themselves and to assist any legislation which was really fitted to contribute towards these im-

portant ends. They claimed, in fact, to be the representatives and advocates in the widest sense of the working class of Germany, and were opposed to all measures which tended to strengthen the class State.

In electoral policy compromise was the order of the day. The party itself was founded on a compromise between the Marxists and the Lassalleans, adopted by Liebknecht and Bebel in spite of the objections of Marx. In 1890 the party leaders advised their followers to vote for all opponents of the Exceptional Law against socialists, wherever no socialist candidate was in the field. In 1907 the party supported the Centre Party (Catholics) at the second ballots in order to strengthen the anti-governmental group. In 1912 the party took the extreme step of virtually ordering the election of sixteen Freisinnige (Liberal) candidates who stood at the second ballots *against* Social Democrats, in order to secure Liberal votes in thirty-one constituencies where Social Democrats were opposed by Conservatives or Catholics. This daring move was successful and was endorsed by the party congress afterwards, although the extreme "Radicals" naturally objected to it.

Thus, before the World War of 1914, the socialists in Germany had a strong, vigorous, and unified party; and, with definite progressive aims before them, their future seemed a distinctly bright and promising one.

Evidence of this is to be found in the unlooked-for results of the Reichstag elections of 1912. This election, from the socialist point of view, was fought on two vital issues—those of Prussian suffrage reform, and the exact position and powers of the Emperor. The Prussian suffrage was of the greatest importance, by reason of the predominant position of Prussia in the German Empire. A Government Bill was introduced in 1910 to rejuvenate the antiquated methods of election; but even this did not provide for the application of the vote to the Reichstag of Prussia. Moreover, it retained all the old electoral districts, as well as the division of the electorate into three classes, according to their income assessments—a system reminiscent of the "Dark Ages." Efforts were made by the socialists to render this bill weatherproof, but it was

impossible, and the bill had to be rejected on 27th May 1910. But the question was still publicly discussed, and franchise reform became one of the main planks of the Social Democratic programme from that time onwards—an aim which they never lost sight of during the darkest days of their disintegration during the war.

In the same year there was great discussion over the person of the Emperor. A chance phrase in the Reichstag and a subsequent speech by the Emperor, in which he asserted that he held his position "by the grace of God," provoked many loyal Germans to protest; and the Social Democrats at their congress at Magdeburg laid great emphasis on the fact that they stood for Republicanism. At this conference also, it is worth noticing, all the dissensions of the past—that is to say, those that arose over the voting of the Prussian budget—were healed, and they declared their unity as a party.

This unity was maintained, and they were able to face the elections of 1912 with optimism and confidence. Their success was extraordinary, the result of a strong movement towards the left on the part of the country. One hundred and ten Social Democratic deputies were returned, and they became the strongest party in the Reichstag—the "black and blue bloc" (Conservative and Catholic centre) having lost forty-five seats.

According to the peculiar political system of the day, no reconstruction of the Government was necessary, but the change was evident in the election for the offices in the Reichstag. These were elected by a double process: in the first election the socialist leader, Bebel, only missed being voted the President by eleven votes, and Scheidemann, another socialist, was voted Vice-President. But in the second election Scheidemann was defeated and Kampf (Bourgeois Democratic) was made President, with Dr. Paasch (National Liberal) as Vice-President. The time was evidently not ripe for Social Democrats to be allowed to come into personal relationships with the Court.

This Reichstag, which was doomed to be the last under the old regime, lasted through the whole of the war—until

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9th November 1918—when it was swept away, together with the old constitution.

The political sphere, however, was not the only one to which the party devoted time, energy, and money. "We German socialists," said Engels, "are proud of our descent, not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. The German Labour Movement is the heir of German classical philosophy." Lassalle claimed that he wrote every line armed with the entire culture of his century. These proud boasts doubtless helped to inspire the Social Democrats to become the bearers of art, philosophy, and science to the masses by means of the establishment of educational committees.

The death of August Bebel in Switzerland on 13th August 1913 closed the second chapter of the history of German socialism. His funeral at Zurich was an international demonstration, attended by hundreds of delegates from every European country. He was the last of the colleagues and contemporaries of Marx: since the death of Liebknecht in 1900 he had been the chief of his party, without a rival. His commanding position in the Reichstag and in the country no one approached and no one disputed. During his period of leadership, from 1900 to 1913, he stood for unity, for the old traditions and the old watchwords, and he was opposed to any formal change of policy during his life. Respect for the veteran made his word law.

The Annual Conference of the party met in September at Jena, a few weeks after Bebel's death, and it was soon clear that the situation had changed.

There were, in effect, three groups in the party: the Radical, the Centre, and the Revisionists. The Radicals were dogmatic socialists. The Centre group was solid for unity, for officialdom, for the party machine: it would neither pronounce for the old dogmas with the Radicals, nor renounce them with the Revisionists. The Revisionists were for an opportunist and practical policy: in this they often had the support of the Centre. Their leader was Eduard Bernstein, who had imbibed Fabianism during his long exile in England, but his loyalty to Bebel made him undesirous of causing a

split in the the Social Democratic Party, though his views were daily gaining more weight during the immediate pre-war period.

At Jena the dominant questions at issue were the use of a general strike as a means of preventing a war, and the action of the party in voting for the war tax on the rich, although they were opposed to the increase of the army. The Radicals were decisively defeated by 366 votes to 140.

Bebel's successor to the joint chairmanship of the party was Friedrich Ebert, a safe man belonging to the Centre: his colleague was Hugo Haase, a Radical. It was Ebert who had to ride the storm of war and peace in the decade that followed.

CHAPTER VI

Socialism and Anarchism in Russia, 1840–1914

UP to the year 1917, Russia was politically a century behind other European States, and a country uncomfortably crowded with incompatible anacronisms. On the right, as it were, was a mediæval Church and an Asiatic autocracy; on the left were Anarchists and Nihilists hoping to bring about by means of assassination the ideal State. The Anarchist and Nihilist movements in Russia hoped to accomplish in an incredibly short time all that which had been accomplished in England between the signing of the Magna Charta and the Parliament Act of 1911. It was a country of the grossest injustices, the most flagrant repression of free speech, and the utmost Utopianism and revolutionary sentiment on the part of its would-be saviours. The grim and terrible form that socialism (and in this word we must for the moment include anarchism and communism) took in Russia for a year or two was entirely due to the cruelty, the almost fiendish cruelty, that called it forth.

No one can doubt that for several centuries some form of autocracy was a necessity for Russia—without it she would have suffered the fate of Poland, which was distracted, weakened, and finally ruined by the anarchy and incurable selfishness of its nobles. Tsardom had maintained the national existence of Russia against fierce and powerful enemies; in every generation it had extended the borders of Russian power, and was a real centre of national life. Most important of all, Tsardom had a hold on the people that can only be compared to the hold that a noble religion has upon a really religious race. The Russian peasant had an almost passionate veneration for the Little Father. But whether such an autocracy need have been accompanied by

such despotic cruelty, by such cynical indifference to the welfare of the peasantry, is another question.

It was into a nation thus constituted that the most advanced revolutionary opinions of Western Europe at last found their way. The spirit of revolt had indeed not been unknown in Russia in former times, but under the firm hand of Nicholas I., who reigned from 1825 to 1855, a regime of repression was maintained, and the peasantry, sunk in immemorial ignorance and misery, were harassed by the incessant tribute of men and taxes which they had to pay. These peasants were the backbone of Russia, and were organised in mirs, or village communities, which were economically self-sufficing. The relations of the members of the mir to each other were conducted on terms of equality and freedom, but in law the people were serfs until their emancipation of 1861. The mir afforded the central government a compact unit for the collection of taxes, for providing the necessary recruits, and for organising local government.

It was in this autocratic Russia, during the reign of Nicholas I., that Mikhail Bakunin, the apostle of anarchy, came into his prime. Born in 1814, of a family belonging to the highest Russian nobility, he began his career as an artillery officer, but whilst serving in Poland he was so painfully impressed with the horrors of the Russian despotic rule, that he resigned his commission and entered on a life of study and agitation. In 1847 he visited Paris, where he met Proudhon, who had a decisive influence on his opinions.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 gave Bakunin his first opportunity as an agitator, and he was particularly concerned in the rising at Dresden in 1849. The hands of the reactionary Governments were heavy on the baffled enthusiasts of the revolution, and Bakunin was sentenced to death. The sentence, however, was commuted, and for six years he was confined in various fortresses in Saxony and Austria. In 1855 he was handed over to the tender mercies of the Russian authorities, who exiled him to Siberia. After five years of this, in 1860 he escaped via Japan and America, took up his residence in Switzerland, and began again to take part in the forward movement. He joined the Inter-

national in 1869, becoming the leader of the more violent Latin section, the anarchists; they were vehemently opposed to the political socialists under Marx, who, by comparison with Bakunin, was a mere nonconformist constitutionalist.

The result was that the fierce attacks of Bakunin on his opponents at the Hague Congress of the International in 1872, led to his expulsion with many of his colleagues. Four years later he died at Berne.

Bakunin was a man of fierce intellectual power, persistent and energetic; he disdained fortune, rank, glory, and other glittering baubles that men covet. He sacrificed his own happiness and endured years of imprisonment and exile in order to be able to do his share in righting wrongs—and the wrongs of Russia were terrible wrongs. His influence was due mainly to the originality of his ideas, his picturesque and fiery eloquence, and his untiring zeal in propaganda.

His correspondence with the revolutionaries in Europe, America, and Siberia was voluminous; and his published writings were the smallest part of his work. His most important treatise, *God and the State*, was a mere fragment, but—like a fragment of a bomb—destructive. In this fragment Bakunin rejects all the ideal systems in every name and shape, from the idea of God downwards, and all forms of external authority, whether emanating from the will of a sovereign or from the will of the people. "The liberty of man," he says in *God and the State*, "consists solely in this, that he obeys the laws of nature because he has himself recognised them as such, and not because they have been imposed upon him externally by any foreign will whatsoever, human or divine, collective or individual." Scientific investigation would, he argues, bring to light all the laws of nature, which men would then obey as the laws of their own nature; the need for political organisation, administration, and control would thus disappear and the whole problem of free will be solved. "In a word," he continues, "we object to all legislation, all authority, and all influence, privileged, patented, official, and legal, even when it has proceeded from universal suffrage, convinced that it must always turn to the

profit of a dominating and exploiting minority, against the interests of the immense majority enslaved."

Bakunin's methods of realising his revolutionary programme were suited to his principles. He would make all haste to sweep away the political and social institutions that prevent the realisation of his plans for the future. The spirit of destruction reaches its climax in the Revolutionary Catechism, which has been attributed to Bakunin, but which contains extreme statements that are inconsistent with his acknowledged writings. It is at least a product of the school of Bakunin, and as such is worthy of attention. The spirit of revolution could not go farther than it does in this document. The revolutionist, as the Catechism would recommend him to be, is a consecrated man, who will allow no private interests or feelings, and no scruples of religion, patriotism, or morality to turn him aside from his mission, the aim of which is by all available means to overturn the existing society. His work is merciless and universal destruction. The future organisation will doubtless proceed out of the movement and life of the people, but it is the concern of coming generations. In the meantime all that Bakunin enables us to see as promise of future reconstruction is the free federation of free associations—associations of which we find the type in the Russian mir or commune.

The influence of Bakunin was felt chiefly on the socialist movement in Southern Europe. The important risings in Spain in 1873 were due to his activity. In the later revolutionary movement of Italy his influence superseded that of Mazzini, for there, as elsewhere, the purely political interest had yielded to the social in the minds of the most advanced.

The doctrines of Bakunin also left their mark on the social history of France and French Switzerland. About 1879 the anarchists showed signs of activity in Lyons and the surrounding industrial centres. Some disturbances among the miners at Montceau-les-Mines, in 1882, also provoked the attention of the police and the Government, with the result that sixty-six persons were accused of belonging to an international association with anarchist principles. Of the accused the most notable was Prince Kropotkin, who,

like Bakunin, belonged by birth to the highest aristocracy of Russia. A man of science of European fame, of kindly nature and courteous manners, he was yet an avowed champion of the most destructive creed. A few of the leading facts of his life, as he gave them in his defence at the trial at Lyons in 1883, may throw some light on that question.[1]

His father was an owner of serfs, and from his childhood he had been witness to scenes like those narrated by the American novelist in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The sight of the cruelties suffered by the oppressed class had taught him to love them. At sixteen he entered the school of pages at the Imperial Court, and if he had learned in the cabin to love the people, he learned at the Court to detest the great. In the army and the administration he saw the hopelessness of expecting reforms from the reactionary Russian Government, and when the social movement began, Kropotkin joined it. The demands made by the new party for more liberty met with a simple response from the Government: they were thrown into prison, where their treatment was terrible. In the prison where the Prince was detained, nine lost their reason and eleven committed suicide. He fell seriously ill, and was carried to the hospital, from which he made his escape. In Switzerland, where he found refuge, he witnessed the sufferings of the people caused by the crisis in the watch manufacture: everywhere the like miseries, due to the like social and political evils. Was it surprising that he should seek to remedy them by the transformation of society?

The record of the great anarchist trial at Lyons in 1883, to which we have already referred, is an historical document of the first importance. Every one who wishes to understand the causes, motives, and aims of the anarchist movement should study it carefully. The leading principles of anarchism are marked by great simplicity, and may be summed up as the rejection of all external authority and of all private appropriation of land and capital. All human relations will depend on the free action and assent of the individuals concerned. Free associations will be formed for industrial and other purposes, and these associations will, with a like freedom,

[1] *Les Procès des Anarchistes*, Lyons, 1883, p. 27.

enter into federal and other relations with each other. The process of social reconstruction is, in short, the free federation of free associations.

Anarchism is in part a matter of temperament and in part of environment: in common with socialism it demands an economic revolution, and it shared with socialism the spirit of revolt which was so large a factor in the movement during the nineteenth century. But it parts company with socialism at the very outset of constructive effort, whether this takes the form of proposals for the future State or of immediate steps in legislation. In early days the line between anarchism and socialism was not clearly drawn in the minds of some leaders, notably William Morris, and in the opinions of many of the rank and file. So long as socialism was mainly a protest against the political and intellectual powers of the day, anarchists and socialists had the same battle to fight, and often acted as allies. But as soon as that phase began to pass, the antagonism became marked, and alliance was impossible.

Anarchism is a result of environment in that it is based on two assumptions: that all government is an evil, and that industry can be carried on without organisation. Therefore it flourished chiefly in Russia, where the Government was till recently a complete autocracy, tempered only by assassination. The Government was a force imposed on the people from above, which attempted to coerce not only their social life, but their thoughts and their religion. Every man of independent mind was necessarily against the Government, and hence many even of the greatest of Russian thinkers, notably Tolstoy and Kropotkin, have generalised from their own experience, that because the Government they were born under was bad, therefore all government appeared to them bad. In countries where the Government is more or less popular, and especially where the people recognise that it is but themselves organised for special purposes, anarchism has never taken root.

Anarchism is necessarily a negative creed. Its principles require the abolition of government and law, and all right to property save that of use. As in Russia the land, the

chief instrument of production, was periodically redistributed amongst the families capable of using it, and no right to land was recognised by the mir apart from capability to cultivate, so the anarchists vaguely conceive that all capital might be common property, and each person free to earn his living by using such instruments of production as he prefers.

It is not necessary to explain the impracticability of this method of industrial organisation, and indeed the anarchists have never attempted to state how they conceive that large-scale industry could be carried on.

In the popular mind anarchism was closely connected with assassination and violence, especially in the form of bombs. In fact, the connection, though actual, was in the main accidental. Some anarchists, notably Tolstoy, have always advocated the opposite policy of non-resistance. Many outrages commonly attributed to anarchists have been the work of criminals, of degenerates, and, especially in Russia, of political conspirators, who deliberately adopted that method for obtaining, not anarchism, but mere political freedom. None the less, the type of mind which vehemently resents control, which idolises personal independence, and considers protest against authority a virtue, readily adopts the notion that any method of discrediting and destroying the existing Government is lawful and expedient, and the examples of outrages in countries where the Government is the enemy have been occasionally followed, chiefly by exasperated exiles in other lands, where such actions have scarcely the shadow of excuse.

The social ideal of anarchism is necessarily the ideal of every thinker. Towards this ideal State we are moving, but the way is through the extension of the law, and not in its immediate abolition.

Such were the views and aims of Bakunin and the anarchists, and nowhere in Europe did they obtain a better hearing or more converts than in Russia. For a time, indeed, it seemed as if the reforming policy of Alexander II., who ascended the throne in 1855, might bring Russia along the paths of democratic reform that had been followed by England. The old methods of government had been thoroughly dis-

credited by the failures of the Crimean War, and there was a general feeling that the ideas and methods of the West, which had proved superior in the struggle, must be tried in Russia. As the young Emperor recognised the necessity of a new policy, great changes were made, and all went well for a time. Alexander carried the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, instituted new courts of law and a new system of local government, and gave a real impetus to education. It was not long, however, before the Emperor began to hesitate in view of the Liberal forces which he had let loose, and which threatened to overturn the whole fabric of Russian society. Like his uncle, Alexander I., the young monarch had not resolution enough to persevere in a practical and systematic course of reform.

The changes already made, and the prospect of changes still to come, roused into action all the conservative instincts and prejudices of old Russia. The insurrection of Poland in 1863, which called forth the sympathies of many Russian Liberals, provoked also a powerful reaction in old Russian circles. An attempt by Karakozoff on the Emperor's life in 1866 may be regarded as the turning-point of his reign. Between those who wished to reform everything, and those who wished no change at all or to change very slowly, no compromise was possible, and a revolutionary movement came into being. When we consider that the new party menaced not only the special political institutions of Russia, but the fundamental principles of the existing society generally—property, religion, and the family—we can see that the breach was inevitable.

Three stages may be recognised in the history of the revolutionary movement. The first covered the period from the accession of Alexander II. in 1855 to about 1870. Its leading characteristic was negation, and the name of Nihilism, should properly be restricted to this early stage.

In the words of Turgenief, who has portrayed the movement in his novel, *Fathers and Sons*, the nihilists were men who "bowed before no authority of any kind, and accepted on faith no principle, whatever veneration may surround it." They weighed political institutions and social forms, religion

and the family, in the balances of that negative criticism which was their prevailing characteristic, and they found them all wanting. With revolutionary impatience they rejected everything that had come down from the past, good and bad alike. They had no respect for art or poetry, sentiment or romance. A new fact added to our positive knowledge by the dissecting of a frog was more important than the poetry of Goethe or a painting by Raphael.

No movement for emancipation can be a purely negative thing; and no movement can be adequately described by reference to a single characteristic. The nihilists found a wider view of the world in the writings of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and J. S. Mill; and they had also at an early period felt the influence of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, and latterly also of Lassalle and Marx. From the first the nihilists felt a broad and real sympathy with the suffering classes. They wished to recall the attention of men from windy verbiage about art and poetry, from a sentimentalism which was often spurious, to the question of "daily bread for all," to the common people perishing for lack of elementary knowledge. And they insisted strongly on the equal rights of women.

It is evident that philosophic nihilism could only be a passing phase in the history of Russian thought, and that it had a wholesome and beneficial effect in spite of its repellent aspect. In a country which was oppressed by an enormous burden of immemorial prejudices and abuses, a powerful dose of negation was almost a necessity. But as time went on, the struggle for emancipation in Russia began to assume a more positive character.

In this way the revolutionary movement entered on its second stage—the stage of socialistic teaching and propaganda, which lasted from 1870 to about 1876. Events in the West had kindled the imagination of the youthful champions of liberty in Russia; they watched the rise and progress of the International, the terrible struggle at Paris under the Commune, and the growth of the German Social Democracy. A positive and far-reaching ideal now drew the aspirations of the enthusiasts for liberty; they sought the deliverance

of the proletariat, represented in Russia by an ignorant and wretched peasantry. The anarchic socialism of Bakunin was unquestionably the controlling element in the new Russian movement, but it now shaded off into the recognition of a constitutional and gradual development of the theory.

From Bakunin also proceeded the practical watchword at this stage of the revolutionary movement, " to go among the people " and spread the new doctrines. And this course was unwittingly furthered by the action of the Government. Early in the 'seventies, hundreds of young Russians of both sexes were studying in Western Europe, particularly at Zurich, in Switzerland. As their stay there exposed them to constant contact with revolutionary Russian exiles, and to infection with all the unsettling ideas of the West, an Imperial ukase of 1873 recalled them. They returned home, but they carried their new ideas with them. " Going among the people " was adopted as a systematic principle, a passion, and a fashion among the youthful adherents of anarchism. In accordance with their creed, they had no appointed organisation, no very definite plan of action. They " went among the people " as the apostles of a new theory, each one as his heart moved him.

They went to be teachers or midwives or medical helps in the villages. In order the better to identify themselves with the common folks, some learned the humblest occupations. The trades of carpenter or shoemaker were most usually chosen, as being the easiest to master. Others toiled for fifteen hours a day in the factories, that they might have an opportunity of saying a word in season to their fellow-workers.

The success of the missionaries was limited. With all his strong suspicion and his narrow range of ideas, the peasant could not easily understand the meaning and purpose of those strange persons teaching strange things. He was apathetic as well as suspicious. Moreover, the teacher often delivered his message in half-digested formulas which had a meaning only as connected with the economic development of Western Europe, and which did not rightly attach them-

selves to anything within the experience of the Russian peasantry.

The propaganda enjoyed only a very brief period of activity. The teachers went about their work with very little circumspection; consequently, the Government had no difficulty in discovering and following up the traces of the propagandists. Before the year 1876 had ended, nearly all of them were in prison. More than 2000 were arrested during the period 1873–76. Many were detained in prison for years, till the investigations of the police resulted in 50 being brought to trial at Moscow and 193 at St. Petersburg at the end of 1877. Most were acquitted by the courts, but by a most unjust administrative process the majority of them were sent into exile by the Government.

These adverse experiences brought the era of peaceful propaganda to a close—it was too dangerous, too costly to those engaged in it, and the revolutionary movement entered upon its third stage, which was to last until 1917. The revolutionary party decided on a propaganda of action, and desperate efforts were made to prepare the peasants for a rising. But the central power was even more ready to suppress these efforts, and the propaganda of action failed to secure a firm footing among the people.

No mercy had been shown to the revolutionists; now, in their turn, they decided to show none, and a direct attack, esolute, systematic, and merciless, was made on the autocracy and its servants. A rigid organisation gave place to the lax discipline recommended by Bakunin. A secret central committee began in 1878 to direct a series of assassinations. The first was General Trepoff, Prefect of Police, who had ordered the flogging of a political prisoner. His murderer was Vera Sassoulitsch, who, to the surprise of the Imperial Court, was acquitted by the jury at her trial, and succeeded in making her escape to Switzerland. Undoubtedly public opinion felt that Trepoff had deserved his fate. General Mezentseff, Chief of Police, was the next, and his death was quickly followed by the assassination of Prince Kropotkin, Governor of Charkoff (a relative of the revolutionist), and General Drenteln—all of whom were murdered in broad daylight.

Attempts were now made on the Tsar himself—a murderous explosion under the Tsar's own dining-table in the Winter Palace being one of the results. Had not the Tsar been late for dinner the revolutionists would have been successful. Finally, Alexander II. was murdered on 13th March 1881. The murder sent a thrill of horror through Europe, and caused a reaction against the revolutionists.

It is a remarkable fact that these revolutionists were mostly under the age of twenty-five. Enthusiasm outran wisdom, and the most that can be said in their favour is that they had met with repression, imprisonment, floggings, and exile in their earlier efforts to enlighten the people by peaceful means. Elementary political rights were denied them : even the mildest forms of propaganda were illegal, and a propagandist could be executed or exiled to Siberia without even the pretence of a legal trial. But in the fiercest mood of their struggle with a terrible autocracy, they were still ready to throw aside their weapons. In the address sent by the Executive Committee to Alexander III., the new Tsar, they offered to give up the propaganda of action and to submit unconditionally to a National Assembly freely elected by the people. The Government, however, disregarded this gesture, and for some years the revolutionists were crushed by the most severe measures.

Hitherto the revolutionary movement in Russia had taken the form of a vigorous protest against autocracy, and was therefore in its essence only but slightly, if at all, socialistic ; but the advent of the capitalist system in Russia in the last decades of the nineteenth century brought with it a socialism somewhat akin to that of Western Europe. Town industries were now growing up, and an industrial proletariat divorced from the land began to emerge as a national factor, and with it a Marxian Social Democratic Party (1896). Side by side with this movement there grew up a Socialist Revolutionary Party (1901), which appealed strongly to the peasantry.

Among the members of the Social Democratic Party at this time was a young man who later was to become famous as Vladimir Lenin. Lenin was born in 1870 at Simbirsk, his

father being an official of middle rank—a district inspector of schools. Quite early in his youth his whole outlook was clouded over by the hanging of his brother Alexander for complicity in a plot to assassinate the Emperor Alexander III. in 1887. Thenceforward Vladimir was a pronounced revolutionist. Expulsion from the University of Kazan for revolutionary activities was followed later on by arrest and escape. Hitherto he had been a member of the Social Democratic Party and a believer in the gradualistic theories of Plekhanov and Struve—at that time the chief exponents of Marxism in Russia. But when, early in the new century, the Social Democrats allied themselves to the Liberals, Lenin and others strove for a violent outbreak of a class war. This produced a split in the ranks of the party between the Majority or "Bolshevik" section and the Minority or "Menshevik." This split was first apparent at the International Conference of 1903, which was held in London.

Both sections were Marxist in principle, their differences being in tactics, not in fundamentals. The Bolsheviks, of whom Lenin was to become the leader, favoured a highly centralised political party; while the Mensheviks, or followers of Plekhanov, were for obtaining democratic support, and advocated industrial action.

Then came the disastrious Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, and the discovery by the Russian peasantry that the Russian autocracy did not possess the virtues it claimed. It had neither military efficiency nor ability in foreign affairs. Popular discontent led to a congress of Zemstvos (County Councils) in December 1904, which demanded a constitution by 102 votes out of 104. In the following month an unarmed demonstration of ten thousand workers, led by Father Gapon to the Winter Palace, was fired on by the troops, and more than one thousand were killed or wounded. "Bloody Sunday" was followed by strikes all over Russia. In Odessa there was a great uprising, the Black Sea fleet mutinied, the *Potemkin* was manned by mutineers and for a time cruised about under their orders. "This rehearsal," as Lenin called it years later, compelled the Tsar to grant a constitution, which, however, satisfied nobody, and was followed by a general

strike in 1905, which broke out in Moscow and spread all over Russia ; all traffic on the railways was stopped, and the whole of the organisation of St. Petersburg was brought to a standstill. It was really universal : even the judges joined it. Perfect order prevailed and no opportunity was given for military interference. The Tsar, on 30th October, issued proclamations agreeing to summon the Duma and, two days later, granting a general amnesty.[1] But even these measures could not pacify an immense and disorganised country. Insurrections in Moscow in January 1906, in the Baltic Provinces, and no less than one thousand six hundred villages followed, and were repressed with brutality. Many of their leaders, including Lenin, fled abroad. Nor did Lenin return for eleven years. During this exile, he published several pamphlets and books which attracted a good deal of attention. In his *Two Tactics* (1905) he epitomises his own idea of Bolshevik tactics : " The Bolsheviks," he said, " desire that the people, that is the proletarians and peasants, should settle the reckoning of Monarchy and Aristocracy in plebeian fashion—by ruthlessly annihilating the enemies of freedom." In his *Materialism and Empiric Criticism* (1909), he pours scorn on religious teachers and idealistic philosophers of all creeds. Thus early was it evident that if ever Lenin and the Bolsheviks came into power, there would be little room in a Bolshevik state for Emperor, aristocracy, clergy, or philosophers.

Meanwhile, in May 1906, the first Duma met, and lasted only seventy days. The socialist parties stood aside, but a Labour group of 107 peasants and workmen was elected. Both the Social Democrats and the Revolutionary Socialists took part in the election of the second Duma in January 1907, and out of 524 members 132 were socialists. This is a very remarkable indication of the enormous influence exercised by socialism, in spite of its persecution. The second Duma was

[1] About the same time the Tsar restored the democratic constitution of Finland, where a Labour Party had been in existence since 1899. From 1907 to 1914 it had the largest party in the Chamber, its members varying in number between eighty and ninety out of two hundred.

dissolved in June, immediately after a proposal by the premier to arrest 16 socialist members and indict 55 others for carrying on revolutionary propaganda in the army and navy, and the decision of the Duma to refer the matter to a Committee. A new electoral law was then promulgated without the consent of the Duma (a breach of the constitution) confining the franchise to a great extent to the landowning and wealthy classes, giving officials power to manipulate the voting, and reducing the number of the Duma from 524 to 442. Only 14 socialists and 14 members of the Labour Party were elected to the third Duma, which met on 15th November 1907. A policy of repression was promptly adopted: hundreds of newspaper editors were sent to Siberia, 26 socialist members of the second Duma were imprisoned with hard labour, 163 members of the first Duma were sentenced to three months' imprisonment and loss of political rights for signing in 1905 the Viborg Memorial calling on the people to resist passively the Government as a reply to the dissolution of the first Duma, and 600 Polish schools established by voluntary funds were closed. During 1908 the *régime* of reaction prevailed: no less than 70,000 persons were banished for political offences and 782 executed (the number was 627 in 1907), while the persons in exile numbered no less than 180,000.

In 1909 came the extraordinary revelations of the Azev case. Azev posed as a leader of the revolutionists, but was in fact an *agent provocateur*, and "had arranged with the connivance of the police most of the outrages and assassinations attempted or carried out in Russia during the previous eight years, in order to facilitate the arrest of the chief members of the party and afford pretexts for a reactionary policy. . . . In plots against M. Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergius which it was alleged were prepared by Azev with the complicity of the police, the latter had failed to intervene in time to prevent the assassinations." [1]

In May, Lopukhin, ex-Chief of the Police Department, was sentenced to five years' hard labour for "belonging to a criminal association," that is, complicity in revolutionary outrages. In December, Colonel Karpoff, Chief of the St.

[1] *Annual Register*, 1909, p. 320.

Petersburg Secret Police, was killed by a bomb thrown by a man also alleged to be an agent of the police.

These terrible revelations proved, if any proof were needed, the hopelessness of the attempt to govern a great country by a despotic autocracy. The storm was gathering, and it is small wonder that it burst with such a fury a few years later.

An important event in 1910 was the death of Tolstoy on 2nd November. Possessed of supreme literary ability and of a personality that compelled world-wide attention, his doctrines were a strange compound of modernism and mediævalism, and varied from decade to decade in his long career. His perpetual protest against the inhumanities of the Government was a splendid service to his country, because he alone in all Russia possessed a power, in his world-wide fame, which the ministers of the Tsar dared not encounter. He alone said what he chose and did as he liked, and no one interfered. But he was curiously limited by his environment, and for many years his writings had a discouraging effect on the socialist movement in England, and no doubt elsewhere. Socialists who accepted his teachings ceased to participate in political work, and were content to complain of the existing state of society without doing anything to alter it.

There were indeed other reasons why Russians should become Tolstoyians—inactive grumblers and fireside socialists—for participation in the active movement was likely to bring dire suffering on the participators. In the five years following the peasant risings, 21,183 persons were killed and 31,117 were wounded in the pogroms and punitive expeditions which followed. In the five years, 1906–10, 5735 death sentences were passed for political offences, and 3741 persons actually executed. In the same period 19,145 persons were convicted for political offences. This was a terrible toll of suffering which Russian socialists and liberals underwent in a few years in order to attain a very limited measure of constitutionalism. Small wonder that such atrocities and horrors brought forth the Bolshevik revolution a decade later.

CHAPTER VII

English Socialism, 1850–1914

IN an earlier chapter the socialism of Owen has been described, and the Christian Socialist movement of the middle of last century briefly sketched.[1] Maurice, Kingsley, and their school were socialist in sentiment and in their criticism of existing society, but they failed as completely as their predecessors in their efforts at reconstruction. Their remedy for the evils of capitalism was but a modification of Owen's Utopian attempt to reconcile capital and labour by turning the labourers into capitalists on a small scale. They assisted to found Co-operative Productive Societies, but scarcely went beyond this.

From these and other causes the Christian socialist movement, never very thoroughly organised, came to an end about 1860, and for a decade or two socialism could hardly be said to exist in England. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were living in London, but their influence was through their books, which were in German, and the International of 1864 and onwards was revolutionary in a political rather than a social and economic sense. The group of men who gathered about Marx were largely foreigners, and the English workmen amongst them gave no indication that they realised the importance of his economic teaching. The disaster of the Paris Commune, as presented to the public by the journalists of the day, put an end to whatever lingering hold the earlier socialist agitators retained on the English people.

One man, however, rose superior to the dominant individualism and commercialism of his time, and he the most influential of then living English economists and thinkers, John Stuart Mill. Although his knowledge of socialism was apparently confined to the Utopian writers of the French

[1] See *supra*, pp. 12–13.

and English schools, he declared himself in complete sympathy with their objects, though naturally unable to believe that they were capable of realisation by the methods proposed.

So impracticable did these ideas appear to the English public of the Gladstonian era, that his pronouncements attracted no attention at the time, and were quickly and completely forgotten. Mill died in 1873, and for several years the very name of socialism appeared to have perished in the land of its origin.

The English socialism which was born again in the early 'eighties merits a somewhat careful study, because it had escaped that domination by the massive personality of Karl Marx which had moulded into one pattern the socialist thought of most other countries.

English socialists were saved from the fetters of Marxism by the compound origin of the new movement. Marxian socialism was introduced by the Social Democratic Federation, as we shall shortly explain, but contemporaneously came the foundation of the Fabian Society, which drew its socialism from several sources, never fell under the spell of the Marxian formulas, and very early in its career began an active protest against whatever Marxian doctrines its members could not accept. That protest broke the spell. There were socialists who dared to disagree with Marx, and challenged his right as a dictator of socialist thought. Hence, when the Independent Labour Party was formed a few years later, the socialism it advocated was free from any doctrinaire standard of orthodoxy, and it is this socialism which forms the main stream in England to-day.

Marx himself died in 1883, before the new movement was well on foot, and it was in this year also, some six months after his death, that with the Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society the English socialist movement began again to take shape.

The new movement was a combination of a variety of intellectual forces, of which Marx was only one. Perhaps the strongest was Henry George. His great book, *Progress and Poverty*, was published in the United States in 1880, and

soon began to attract attention in England. George did not teach socialism: indeed, his most devout followers have been and are doctrinaire individualists, convinced that the play of economic forces in a state of competition would remove poverty and cure all other social ills our present state is heir to, if only the rent of land—his modern disciples add the capital value of land—were transferred to the community. George himself, like so many other great men, was not at all times a fanatic Georgite: his opinions wavered; his followers were both socialists and individualists; whatever view may be taken of his ideas about land, the great conception he contributed to the thought of the 'eighties was that poverty was an evil preventable by State action. That was a criticism, and a damning criticism, of the economic doctrines then current, not perhaps amongst the economists themselves, but amongst politicians and social reformers. They held that poverty was caused by weakness of character, by indulgence in drink, by inefficiency, idleness, and want of thrift. The State, they thought, could not beneficially interfere except in certain well-accustomed ways. It might teach morality in churches, provide a modicum of education, protect women and children by Factory Acts, and keep alive with a minimum of comfort those whom want of character had prevented from saving sufficient to provide a competency for old age or an income for their families in cases of untimely sickness or death.

Against this philosophy, comfortable enough for the possessing classes if they could persuade themselves to regard the sufferings of others with equanimity, *Progress and Poverty* burst like a bombshell. Poverty, said Henry George, was directly and solely caused by defective arrangements of society. The New Testament might be quoted, and the Prayer Book misquoted, to support the *status quo*, but the Old Testament regulations as to land holdings were in flat contradiction to our present system, and they purported to claim a divine origin. It was Henry George, rather than Karl Marx, who brought to socialism many of the exponents of English socialism. But they did not make the mistake of turning George into a prophet They selected from his ideas,

as they selected from those of Marx, only what they deemed valuable.

There were other influences besides George. There was a small Christian Socialist movement, a revival of that of thirty years before, founded by the Reverend Stewart D. Headlam and others, which adopted the name of their predecessors, and took as a constructive policy Land Reform instead of Co-operative Production. It existed to publish a monthly called the *Christian Socialist*, which lasted from 1883 to 1891.

Ruskin, too, with his criticism of the current economic doctrine, doubtless prepared the minds of some for acceptance of the new ideas, but not, perhaps, to any great extent.

The movement, as we have said, had two sources in England, the Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society. The first of these began in 1881 when the Democratic Federation was founded by Mr. H. M. Hyndman (1841–1921), a journalist of shrewd judgment, of university training, and ripe in experience gained through travel round the world.

Hyndman,[1] who had been bred in a conservative and evangelical atmosphere, had caught the spirit of political liberty from personal contacts with Garibaldi and Mazzini, had studied the exposure of labour's exploitation as revealed in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*; and had discussed the problem of poverty with Marx himself. In 1881, when thirty-nine years of age, he published his *England for All*, one of the first definite socialist publications in Great Britain. In a few pages he expressed a remarkable appeal to the nation to face the questions involved in the poverty of millions of workers and the rise of democracy. Hyndman now gathered round him a small band of progressive spirits in the Democratic Federation, which was originally designed as a federation of London Radical Clubs. Its leading members were not exclusively socialists, and included William Morris, Belfort Bax, Herbert Burrows, and Dr. Edward Aveling, the son-in-law of Marx. All these, however, quickly passed from the " social

[1] See the *Record of an Adventurous Life*, by Henry Mayers Hyndman (Macmillan), 1911, and *Hyndman, Prophet of Socialism*, by F. G. Gould (George Allen & Unwin Ltd.), 1929.

reform" ideals of Radicalism and Liberalism into the full socialistic programme. In January 1884, the weekly organ *Justice* was established, and a new and significant stage in the history of British socialism opened.[1]

Hyndman was not, however, fated to be the leader of big political battalions. But he did create an active militant organisation, still living, which in the 'eighties and 'nineties of last century made a deep and definite impression on working-class thought and organisation throughout Great Britain. Undoubtedly he was "a difficult man to get on with." He never, it is true, sought popularity, and for the politicians as such he had little respect, regarding them as "mere Parliament men . . . trimming their sails to suit the breezes of popularity, or to manipulate the votes of the day." Nor did he lack courage. Early in 1881, thinking that he might be able to secure the aged Lord Beaconsfield's support for certain industrial legislation, he asked to see him. He had read *Sybil*, and felt that Beaconsfield's sympathy with the poor could be turned into socialist channels. Disraeli was ill—and received Hyndman in his red dressing-gown, fatigued and immobile.

"Lord Beaconsfield," began Hyndman gently, "Peace with Honour is a dead formula: Peace with Comfort is what the people want to hear."

Beaconsfield smiled—a little more alert, "Not a bad phrase—Peace with Comfort. What do you mean by Comfort, Mr. Hyndman?"

"Plenty to eat, enough to drink, good clothes, pleasant homes, a thorough education, and sufficient leisure for all."

"Utopia to order!" said the interested invalid. "A fine policy . . . but not one that the Conservatives will carry out. The moment you start, a phalanx of great families, men *and* women, will beset you and will rout you every time. . . . This England, Mr. Hyndman, is a difficult country to move. . . . One can make or do thus"—and he opened his hands half an inch. "Perhaps that," and he opened his hands an inch, "but never this," as he tried to open his arms wide.[2]

[1] Now published monthly as the *Social Democrat*.

[2] Maurois' *Disraeli*, pp. 315–16.

Perhaps Disraeli was right—it took Mr. Asquith and the whole Liberal-Labour phalanx of 1906–14 to secure the first half-inch of socialistic legislation ; and another twenty years had to elapse before England would permit MacDonald to give it the second half an inch.

Hyndman was open in his scorn of anything that savoured of compromise. Successful politicians, therefore, bore him many a grudge, although there were some who owed him deep debts of gratitude. In 1883, Hyndman published his *Historic Basis of Socialism*, which introduced the ideas of Marx to the English-speaking world.

But what gave the Social Democratic Federation its consequence in the public estimation was the adhesion of William Morris. This remarkable man already possessed all that fame could give. He had revolutionised English domestic art, and his name was a household word in every family that pretended to any sort of culture. As a poet he stood second only to Tennyson ; he was known to be wealthy ; and a wide circle of friends respected his sterling character and recognised the charm of his singularly attractive personality. Perhaps no Englishman of his generation has possessed more of the virtues or fewer of the faults of genius. Morris was not a born agitator : he was by no means a fluent speaker ; he had no ability for politics, and indeed, temperamentally, he was an anarchist. But he was tremendously in earnest, and for years his pen and his purse, and his splendid energy, were all at the disposal of the new movement.

Moreover, he brought to socialism a new range of ideas. He surveyed society as an artist and found commercialism lamentably wanting. Morris was a mediævalist, and would have liked to turn back the clock to the days of John Ball. As this was impossible, he dreamed of and worked for a social revolution which should abolish the slavery of men to machines, toiling for long hours and miserable pay at mechanical tasks in hideous and unwholesome surroundings. He himself was a tireless worker and loved work above all else. But it was work in which he found joy ; it was artistic work, and he believed that all work could and should be such that the

worker can express himself in it, and can enjoy the doing of it. He abhorred machines, and he refused to face the fact that machinery had come to stay, and that when it lightens the toil of the worker as well as adding to the wealth of the community, especially the rich, its application to every department of industry will be universally welcomed. From Morris and his friend Walter Crane came the curious and not altogether helpful association of English socialism with the petty handicrafts: a sentimental idealisation of hand labour which occasionally went to the length of attempts to revive the spinning wheel and the handloom, and the notion that there was some social virtue in hammered copper and hand-wrought ironwork.

Under the guidance of H. M. Hyndman, William Morris, and Belfort Bax, the Social Democratic Federation quickly made an impression. Everybody, friends and foes alike, at that period took the view that the proclamation of doctrines apparently so attractive to the "lower classes" would assuredly attract them. At the election of 1885 three Social Democratic candidates were put up at Hampstead, Kennington, and Nottingham, and it was widely believed that the working classes would vote for them in thousands. But the bubble was quickly pricked. John Burns, an engineer who had become the finest open-air speaker of the day, polled only 598 votes at Nottingham out of a total poll of 11,000, and in the two London constituencies the socialists received only 27 and 32 votes respectively! Once again the lesson was given which enthusiasts happily learn so slowly, that, for good or for evil, the mass of the English people is solidly conservative, and difficult to convert to new ideas.

Moreover, the movement now suffered from a split, the result of a quarrel partly personal and partly on matters of principle. Early in 1885 William Morris, with Belfort Bax and Edward Aveling, the son-in-law of Marx, left the Federation, formed the Socialist League, and started a new paper, the *Commonweal*, in which some of Morris's books were first published. The League gradually became anarchistic, and it lost all influence when Morris left it in November 1890.

Meanwhile Thomas Davidson, a Scotsman living in New York, a brilliant talker and a metaphysician of some eminence,[1] had addressed in the autumn of 1883 a series of small gatherings in London, at which he put forward a plan of founding a community to live a higher life, the "Vita Nuova" as he termed it. When he left it was decided to continue the meetings; the Utopian ideas were quickly discarded, and the majority on 4th January 1884 formed the Fabian Society. The Society composed for itself a motto:

"For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain, and fruitless"—

which is bad history, but remarkable as indicating a want of self-confidence unusual amongst young people, who, however, had sufficient sense to realise that they must learn before they could teach.

In its earliest days a remarkable group of men, then quite unknown, joined the little body. Bernard Shaw, later the foremost of English dramatists, was the first, and he was quickly followed by Sidney Webb and Sydney Olivier, then both Colonial Office clerks, and now both peers[2]; Graham Wallas, and William Clarke, subsequently well known as authors and lecturers; Edward R. Pease,[3] and Mrs. Annie Besant, already notorious rather than famous, as a colleague of Charles Bradlaugh in the Free Thought and Malthusian movement. Her brilliant oratory added greatly to the

[1] See *Memorials of Thomas Davidson, the Wandering Scholar.* Ed. W. Knight. Fisher Unwin, 1907.

[2] Sidney Webb left the Colonial Office in 1891, and became a London County Councillor. Later he became President of the Board of Trade (1924), and Secretary of State for the Dominions, and Lord Passfield (1929). His works include *The History of Trade Unionism, English Local Government,* etc. Sydney Olivier was Secretary of the Fabian Society from 1886 to 1890, Governor of Jamica, 1907 to 1913, and Secretary of State for India, 1924.

[3] Secretary of the Fabian Society from 1890 to 1913, and the historian of the movement.

effectiveness of the Society until she left socialism for theosophy in 1890.

The early Fabians began with a systematic study of Marx's *Das Kapital*, and found that they were not in agreement with his law of surplus value, which at that time was regarded by English Social Democrats as the basis of socialism. Nor did they accept the revolutionary method which was then considered as indispensable. Revolution in the 'eighties meant to socialists barricades in the streets, violence, and bloodshed; but although this view was contrary to the express opinion of Marx, his English followers in those days scorned anybody who suggested that socialism could be inaugurated by any other instruments than firearms.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Fabian Society at this period had any public influence. The Fabians were busy educating themselves, and their time had not yet arrived.

Meanwhile socialism was spreading in little groups all over the country. The two leading organisations did not usually display that hostility towards each other which has characterised the internal disputes of socialists in some countries: the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation had scores of branches in the industrial districts, and in London for some years collisions with the police over the right of speech at street corners were frequent. In 1886 Hyndman and Burns were prosecuted for making seditious speeches in Trafalgar Square, which were followed by a riot, and, to the astonishment of all concerned, were acquitted. It must be recollected that the socialism of that period—apart from the still obscure Fabian Society—frankly advocated violent revolution.

In 1889 came the Dockers' Strike, of which Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillett were the leaders, and in which many other socialists took an active part. The success of the strike opened a new chapter in the history of Trade Unionism. From this time onwards John Burns left the Social Democratic Federation, becoming a London County Councillor in 1889, Liberal-Labour M.P. for Battersea in 1892, and President of the Local Government Board at the constitution of the Liberal Ministry of 1905.

During the next few years the Fabian Society began to make itself felt. Its leaders were the best debaters in London, and it was developing its policy. Under the influence of Sidney Webb it began to study facts. Its fifth tract, *Facts for Socialists*, an estimate of the manual workers' share of the national income, published in 1887, has been easily the most famous English socialist tract, and ran through twelve editions. But there was no novelty in collecting facts for destructive criticism of the capitalist system: the novelty came with *Facts for Londoners* (1889), an elaborate statistical analysis of London institutions, with proposals for amending them. That marked a transition of thought. Socialism was not to be a scheme introduced on the morrow of the revolution and built up on a social site cleared by the destruction of the institutions of capitalism. The revolution, the Fabians said, would be continuous and would never have a morrow. It had a future, but it had also a past. Municipal water and gas works were means of production collectively owned; so was the post office, and abroad the railways. Collective ownership existed already, and what we wanted was more of it. The State is local as well as central: the London County Council could municipalise its tramways without a revolution.

Their first success was to form the policy of the Progressive Party which obtained power at the first London County Council election of 1889, and which maintained its majority until 1906. Under their influence London municipalised its monopolies; it gave Trade Union wages to its employees, and insisted on them in its contracts; it inaugurated through its Technical Education Board (of which Sidney Webb held the chairmanship from its constitution in 1893 till 1898, and again in 1902) the best system of education in the country. All this was largely due to the inspiration of the Fabians, both inside and outside the Council.

In 1889 the Society began to acquire a national reputation. In that year *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, a series of lectures by the leading members, was published, and at once obtained an extraordinary success. It was a presentation of socialism from the English standpoint. It avoided the strange phraseology of Marxism, was frankly evolutionary, and was

written by people all of whom later attained eminence as men of letters or practical politicians. It is now over forty years since Mr. Bernard Shaw, in the classic first essay of the *Fabian Essays*, showed that he could beat the economists at their own game of refined analysis. In the period since that time he has discussed every angle of socialist theory and tactic, and his writings have done much to help the movement. These "Essays" were followed in 1890 by a number of lecture campaigns, which led to the formation of local Fabian Societies in every important town in the United Kingdom.

Another circumstance helped the Fabians. To the ordinary citizen, and especially to the workman, Government is a thing apart, a great machine of which he knows little, but talks much, while the Fabians were many of them in Government service as first division clerks. To Government clerks at Whitehall, even the juniors, Government is a delicate machine they help to control, and they have many ways of influencing political action which are not apparent to the outsider. What is true of government is equally true of outside organisations. The policy of a political association is determined—within limits—by the man who drafts its resolutions and reports. "Know more than other people, know what you want, and you can make other people carry out your ideas," was the Fabian method. It is easier to get control over existing machinery than to make machinery for yourself. Finally, the Fabians had quickly learnt that the working classes were not going to rush into socialism in their thousands and tens of thousands. They regarded the task of creating a new political party out of individual adherents to a society as in England beyond the strength of the forces at their disposal.

Hence arose the policy of permeation: the Fabians were conscious of the force of their ideas, and were confident that they could so present them that other people would adopt them half unconsciously.

Their efforts in the provinces, however, had but a short success, for the local societies, mainly working class in membership, were unable to make use of the methods of the parent

body, and they disappeared almost as rapidly as they had sprung up when the Independent Labour Party was formed in 1893.

The idea on which the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) was based was not new to the socialist movement. What was wanted was a socialist party, Fabian in its disregard of Marxian dogma, in its willingness to work with Trade Unions, in its complete toleration of Christianity, and its acceptance of political methods ; and at the same time distinct from the Fabian Society in its adoption of complete political independence.

To Keir Hardie, far more than any other man, is due the credit of the new departure. He was secretary of the Ayrshire Miners, and in 1892 was elected to Parliament for South-West Ham on independent lines.[1] The I.L.P. was formed at a Conference at Bradford in 1893, and was at first intended, as its name implies, to be Labour rather than purely socialist ; but this stage lasted only a short time. The new body rapidly absorbed the provincial Fabian movement, and quickly became a powerful organisation in the manufacturing districts. In London, for many years it was relatively weak.

The great work of the I.L.P. was the conversion of the leaders of Trade Unionism. All over the country the ablest younger men in the Trade Union branches joined its ranks, and they were everywhere elected branch officials, branch delegates, and presently the national officials of their unions. The mass of the people was still outside the movement, but in every town and industrial village the men who were beginning to make themselves felt were members of the I.L.P. Socialism was discussed at Trade Union Congresses every year, and ultimately resolutions were passed in its favour.

Keir Hardie lost his seat in 1895, and the I.L.P., though frequently fighting elections, was always unsuccessful.

During the next few years socialism made steady progress. The Fabian Society maintained its activity as a lecturing and publishing organisation. The I.L.P., temperamentally suited to the English workmen, became constantly more

[1] Probably the first Labour candidate was George Odger, who contested Southwark in 1868.

influential, gradually ousting the Social Democratic Federation from its position as the popular socialist body.

The next event in the history of English socialism was the formation of the Labour Representation Committee. It was the logical outcome of the direct representation of labour which had been a marked feature of English politics since 1874, when Mr. Thomas Burt (later Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in the Liberal government of 1892–1895) and Alexander Macdonald were elected as Trade Unionists.

At the Trade Union Congress of 1899 a resolution was carried directing the Parliamentary Committee in co-operation with the Socialist societies to call a conference in order "to devise ways and means for securing an increased number of Labour Members in the next Parliament." This Conference met in London in February 1900, and was attended by a number of M.P.s, including John Burns, and by representatives of 545,316 Trade Unionists and 22,861 members of the three Socialist Societies.

At the outset it was apparent that the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. differed as to the functions of the new committee, for while the S.D.F. proposed the following resolution as its basis :

"The representatives of the working-class movement in the House of Commons shall form there a distinct party, based upon the recognition of the class war, and having for its ultimate object the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The party shall formulate its own policy for promoting practical legislation in the interests of labour, and shall be prepared to co-operate with any party that will support such measures, or will assist in opposing measures of an opposite character"—

the I.L.P. delegates proposed the following amendment :

"That this Conference is in favour of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, who shall have their own whips and agree upon their policy, which, must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which, for the time being, may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labour, and be equally ready to associate them-

selves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency."

The I.L.P. amendment was carried by 53 votes to 39, about a fourth of the delegates present at the Conference abstaining. The result was the formation of the Labour Representation Committee, or the Labour Party as it became later, combining Trade Unions with the three Socialist bodies; but at the Annual Conference of the S.D.F. at Birmingham the following year, the Executive Council proposed, "That this Conference of the S.D.F. decides to withdraw from the Labour Representation Committee." The resolution was carried by 54 votes to 14, and the S.D.F. withdrew.

That hasty decision was a sad mistake, for feeling between the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. became anything but comradely or fraternal, and the S.D.F. cut itself off from the main stream of socialist activity. The Labour Representation Committee was thus composed of Trade Unions with the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society for the purpose of promoting the election of a Labour Group in Parliament. It was expressly laid down that the new body should be a group, united for Labour purposes, but otherwise not dissociated from existing parties. The members might sit as Liberals, or Conservatives, or Socialists: they were only pledged to act together on Labour questions. Needless to add, the great majority of its leading members, inside and outside Parliament, were socialists. Ramsay MacDonald, who had made some reputation as a member, first of the Fabian Society and later of the I.L.P., which he joined in 1894, was elected secretary, in which post he continued till 1912, and to his singleness of aim and personal self-sacrifice the Labour Party has from the first owed much of its success.

The general election of 1900 occurred a few months after the Committee was constituted, and of the fifteen candidates supported, only two, J. Keir Hardie at Merthyr and Richard Bell at Derby, were successful. But at by-elections during the next few years, the party had three remarkable successes. David Shackleton was returned for Clitheroe, Lancashire, unopposed; Will Crooks, with Liberal support, won a great victory at Woolwich; and Arthur Henderson, later Secretary

of State for Foreign Affairs, defeated two opponents at Barnard Castle, Durham.

The numbers of the new party grew steadily, and at the Newcastle Conference of 1903, a long internal struggle was concluded by the decisive victory of the section which had advocated the formation of an independent party. The group plan was abandoned, and a new parliamentary party was established. This change of policy was accepted without demur by everybody except Mr. Bell, who maintained his alliance with the Liberals, and presently ceased to belong to the party.

By 1906 the L.R.C., which now became known as the "Labour Party," had in its constituent organisations no fewer than 921,280 members, and at the general election of that year it ran fifty candidates, of whom twenty-nine were successful. Among the new members returned at the election were Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden. Keir Hardie was elected Chairman in 1906 and 1907—a fact which indicates that it was predominantly socialist in opinion notwithstanding that the organised socialists were but a small minority of the membership. Arthur Henderson was Chairman in 1908 and 1909, and Secretary from 1912 onwards; G. N. Barnes was Chairman in 1910.

The impression made on the country by the Labour Party in the elections of 1906 was tremendous. Hitherto socialists had been regarded as a little body of absurd fanatics, incapable of influencing the working classes, shouting very loudly, but never even shaking the solid walls of capitalism. On a sudden they had become a party in Parliament, able to force their ideas on public notice, and to exercise a direct influence on the affairs of the country. This impression was deepened by the result of two by-elections. At Jarrow in July 1907 the Labour candidate was elected, beating a Liberal, a Tory, and a Nationalist; and at Colne Valley, Yorkshire, a week or two later, Victor Grayson, an unknown young man, standing as an I.L.P. Socialist candidate without Labour Party support, was successful over both Liberal and Conservative. The success of these two years attracted great attention to socialism, and both the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society had a

great accession of members. About the same time, Mr. H. G. Wells interested himself in Fabian affairs, and endeavoured to remodel the Society in accordance with his own ideas. In this enterprise he was substantially unsuccessful, but his vigour and genius, combined with a capacity for advertisement, attracted a great amount of attention to its doings and brought in a crowd of new members. Mr. Wells soon tired of his excursion into socialism, and abandoned the movement altogether; but happily he wrote several books and pamphlets on the subject, one of which, *New Worlds for Old*, is one of the most original and suggestive expositions of socialism which have yet appeared in the English language.

In 1908 the Miners' Federation joined as from the next general election, bringing 15 M.P.s and 550,000 members; and at the election of January 1910, 40 Labour Members were returned—an actual increase because of the miners, though, in fact, there was a net loss of six seats. In December 1910 the party, alone of the English parties, gained two seats, making their number 42.

The Labour Party had been largely created by the indignation of Trade Unionists at the Taff Vale judgment (1900), which deprived Trade Unions of the immunity they had held for a generation from actions for damages by employers injured by strikes. This decision placed the funds of Trade Unions at the mercy of employers and virtually made large-scale strikes too dangerous to be practicable. The Labour movement was united in demanding its reversal by Parliament, and this was the first plank in the Labour Party platform. This reform was effected by the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. Other legislative achievements of the party were the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, for the feeding of school children, and the Trade Boards Act, 1909, which introduced the principle of a legal minimum wage to the northern hemisphere. The Taff Vale judgment was hardly reversed by law before the Judges found a new flaw in the Trade Union code of law. The funds of Unions had been used, at any rate since 1874, for political purposes, but in the Osborne Case (1909) this was declared to be illegal, and all unions were liable to be prevented by injunction from contributing to the

Labour Party. In fact, though many unions were precluded from paying their dues, the party was never hampered for want of money, and by the Trade Union Act of 1913 the judgment was reversed and the old liberty restored to the unions, subject to adequate protection for dissentient members.

In these pre-war years the Labour Party had a difficult part to play in British politics. In the first place, it was compelled to place extreme emphasis on its independence. Many of its members, especially those belonging to the Miners' Federation, had been first elected to their seats as Liberals, and were called upon by their Union to change their party without any change either in their opinions or in their constituencies. Labour candidates for a generation had been elected as Liberals; and very few of the Labour members held their seats in Parliament exclusively by the votes of their own party. A considerable number sat for two-member constituencies, where they shared the representation and the votes with a Liberal. Most of the rest held seats which the Liberals had not contested, and where, therefore, they had received Liberal as well as Labour support. But gradually they were compelled to attack Liberal seats, because their only possibility of growth was in constituencies already occupied by other parties, and most of those in industrial districts where Labour was strong were held by Liberals.

From 1906 to 1910 their position in Parliament was that of a force on the left wing of the enormous Liberal majority, which was free to vote for or against the Government, but in no case could determine the result. The election of January 1910 gave them a position of much greater responsibility. If they had voted in opposition, the Government majority would be too small for effective purposes, and they had to choose between giving steady support to the Government and forcing a dissolution. Until the Osborne judgment was reversed by law their course was clear enough. Subsequently they demanded the Parliament Act as vehemently as the Liberals, and they were fully pledged by their electoral promises to support the Budget of 1909, Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and Franchise Reform. Moreover, until these measures, insistently demanded by powerful sections

of the country, were out of the way, there was no opportunity for those large schemes of social reconstruction which formed their ultimate programme.

But this policy led to serious difficulties. The extremists and idealists, the men who fought a long fight as a small minority always attacking those in the majority and in power, could not be reconciled to see their parliamentary representatives steadily supporting a Government in office. What is the good of a Labour Party if it is constantly in alliance with the Liberals? Why not demand socialist legislation, and vote relentlessly against the Government until it concedes it or resigns? Mr. George Lansbury, the chief parliamentary advocate of this policy, resigned his seat in November 1912 in order to test the feelings of the electorate on the question of Women's Suffrage, and was heavily defeated. But this lesson is insufficient for those whose temperament commits them to political idealism.

Meanwhile the Social Democratic Federation, which had definitely cut itself off from the main stream when it left the Labour Party in 1901, remained a body of impossibilists vigorously fighting for an ideal and incidentally fighting all other organisations and parties. It secured a few seats on local authorities, but never won a parliamentary election. In 1911 it joined forces with a number of discontented members of the I.L.P., with Robert Blatchford and the "Clarionettes," and with certain other unattached socialists. The new party, formed at a Conference held at Salford on 30th September, adopted a fresh name, the "British Socialist Party." That new body brought together a number of people outside the S.D.F., many of whom were united mainly in dissatisfaction with what had followed the Labour successes in the parliamentary elections of 1906 and 1910. Recruits who have come together on a basis of negation do not make a successful army; and at the 1914 Conference of the B.S.P., following upon a vote of the members, the body decided to affiliate to the Labour Party.

The I.L.P., however, continued its policy without substantial change. Its leaders were also leaders of the Labour Party, and its political policy was mainly expressed by that

body. In 1914 more than half the Labour M.P.s were members of the I.L.P. Its chairman was again Keir Hardie, and among its other members were Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden. Its paying membership in 1914 represented 22,000 members and 720 branches.

The Fabian Society, as has already been explained, gradually lost its local organisation throughout the country after the formation of the I.L.P., but the London Society steadily grew in numbers and influence. In 1914 the Society had a membership of 2800, and about 500 provincial members not belonging to the London Society. At that time there were 12 Fabians in Parliament—8 in the Labour Party and 4 Liberals.

In these pre-war years the relations between the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. became increasingly cordial, and it may perhaps be truly said that to the electorate the Labour-Socialist movement presented a fairly solid front. Just before the outbreak of the Great War, the Labour Party consisted of 130 Trade Unions with 2,000.000 members, 146 Trade Councils and Local Labour Parties, two Socialist Societies with 32,000 members, 5000 members of the Women's Labour League, and 1073 Co-operators. The Trade Unions supplied the great bulk of the membership and funds, and the socialist control of the party depended on the fact that Trade Unionists themselves were socialists. Labour was advancing steadily, when suddenly the thunderbolt of war spread confusion in the ranks; but the story of that must be left to a later chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary (1871–1914)

FRANCE

THE story of socialism in France since the fall of the Second Empire in 1871 is largely a record of the formation of groups following various leaders, their dissensions, amalgamations, and redivisions. In France socialism is a principle rather than a party, and in pre-war days it shaded off on one side into Syndicalism and Anarchism; on the other into Radicalism and Republicanism.

The suppression of the Commune of 1871 involved the death or banishment of the French socialists of that period; but in 1877 Jules Guesde (1845–1922), who as a youth had taken part in that event and had been sentenced to five years imprisonment, returned from exile (which he had adopted as an alternative) and established a paper, *L'Egalité*, to advocate Marxism. He was a vigorous if bitter agitator, and in 1879, at a Trade Union Congress at Marseilles, his revolutionary Marxian programme was accepted, and the Congress adopted the name "Socialist Labour." But the party was unsuccessful at the election of 1881, and at the Congress of 1882 Paul Brousse, who had also been in exile with Guesde and Benoît Malon, formed a new party of Possibilists, who opposed Guesde and Paul Lafargue. The result was that the intransigent policy of Guesde was rejected for the more opportunist policy, and Guesde and his Marxians formed a new party of "Guesdists." In 1893 Guesde was returned to the Chamber of Deputies as the member for Lille, and sat until 1902. His published speeches are his main literary work.

Meanwhile, syndicalism had arisen in France, where Trade Unions had been suspect by the Government, and were legalised only in 1884. A general congress was held in 1886,

at which a National Federation of Syndicates (Trade Unions) was constituted, but it was captured by the Guesdist party of socialists, and had little influence. A few years later another National Federation was constituted, that of the Bourses du Travail. These offices in France combine all the functions exercised in England by the Labour Exchange, the Trades Council, and a workman's club or institute, and they are assisted by subventions from the Municipalities. The first was opened in Paris in 1887, and in 1892 the Federation of Bourses du Travail was formed, which at its Congress of 1893 adopted the principle of the General Strike.

Apart from the syndicalists, there were in the 'nineties no less than five socialist parties in France. In addition to the Guesdists, and the Possibilists under Paul Brousse, there was a second Possibilist Party led by Jean Allemane (who separated from Brousse in 1890); the revolutionary Blanquists, who maintained the tradition of the old conspirator Blanqui; and a group of Independent Socialists, which included Alexandre Millerand and Jean Jaurès. For a time there was co-operation between these various groups, and at the election of 1893, forty deputies were successful, with a total vote of nearly half a million. Jaurès, who was first elected as a Radical in 1885 but lost his seat in 1889, sat first as an Independent Socialist in 1893, but was again rejected in 1898. Four years later he was again returned, and from then until 1914 he was the most important leader in France, and indeed the most powerful member of the Chamber of Deputies. He was born in 1859, began his career as a professor of philosophy, and was for many years the editor of a socialist daily, *L'Humanité*. Uncouth in appearance, but a man of magnificent energy, curiously idealistic, he was the most brilliant French orator or debater of his time. In 1898 came "L'Affaire Dreyfus," into which Jaurès flung himself with characteristic vigour; most of the socialists followed his lead in withstanding the militarist party, but Guesde and his followers objected to socialists concerning themselves with anything outside socialism. Meanwhile, Millerand had become the leading parliamentarian of the Socialist Left, which then mustered sixty members, and in June 1899 he entered

M. Waldeck Rousseau's Cabinet of "republican defence" as Minister of Commerce. Jaurès approved his colleague's action, but French socialists generally were indignant at a socialist taking office in a non-socialist Cabinet, and co-operation between the five groups ceased in consequence. The whole question of Millerand's action was then regarded as so important that the International Socialist Congress of 1904 at Amsterdam devoted by far the greater part of its time to it and to the question of the lack of co-operation between the French groups. Jaurès led for his compatriot, whilst Bebel took the other side, and carried the Congress with him. Decisions of the International Congress were then regarded as almost mandatory by continental socialists, and Jaurès accepted the verdict. The result of the Congress was that in 1905 the "Unified Socialist Party" was constituted in France and Millerand excluded from its councils.[1] The whole question, however, broke out afresh when, in 1906, Aristide Briand, who founded *L'Humanité* with Jaurès and was one of the rising socialist parliamentarians, accepted the portfolio of public instruction and worship in the Sarrien Ministry. Party unity was saved by his exclusion and that of René Viviani from the Unified Socialist Party.[2]

In the election of 1906, 51 socialists were returned (of whom Jules Guesde was one), and 877,999 votes polled. In 1910 the party grew to 76, and the poll to 1,106,047. In 1914, after a whirlwind campaign, the number was increased to 103 by 1,398,000 votes. The party had doubled its representation within eight years. In addition, there were in the Chamber small groups of "Independent Socialists" and "Republican Socialists," and over 200 Radical Socialists, headed by Briand, Millerand, and Viviani, who were perhaps more Radical than Socialist.

Thus the Socialist Party in pre-war years consisted of about 70,000 subscribing members of many conflicting schools, under the leadership of Jaurès, but was split into three main groups. The largest group, under Jaurès, was broad-

[1] Millerand introduced Old Age Pensions in 1905, and subsequently became President of the French Republic.

[2] Briand and Viviani both afterwards became Premiers.

minded and opportunist. Its members believed in social reform, and advocated union with other groups of the Left. The followers of Jules Guesde and the witty Marcel Sembat also believed in social reform and constitutional action, but, as austere doctrinaires and pure Marxists, they opposed socialist acceptance of office in a bourgeois Government, and fought against understanding with the other parties. The third group, led by Gustave Hervé, were anti-Marxist but pro-rebellion. Jaurès was the skilled demagogue who led them all, with a policy of an understanding with Germany, no colonial conquests, social reforms, state monopolies, reduction of the term of military service, and adoption of militia system.

Jaurès was fiercely idealistic both as a writer and as an orator. Among his works were *Idealisme et Materialisme dans la Conception de l'Histoire* (in collaboration with Paul Lafargue); *Histoire Socialiste, 1789–1900*, a marvellously impartial and acute study on Marxian lines of the French revolutionary leaders and currents; and the *Armée Nouvelle*, a great effort to counteract on the one hand the nationalists who, by dint of furthering the cause of armaments, were furthering that of war, and on the other hand the anti-militarists of the Hervé type, who, urging that the proletariat had no country at all, preached unilateral disarmament.

Somewhat surprisingly, for the first three hundred pages of the *Armée Nouvelle* Jaurès talks much of patriotism and military glory, and little, if at all, of socialism. But chapter x. begins the most complete and finished exposition ever made by him of his socialist doctrine. In this chapter Jaurès sets skilfully in motion all the resources of his dialectic. He is especially concerned with hard economic facts, but he realises that in order to bring about a social transformation, political, juridical, moral, and intellectual factors must also be considered.

The chapter opens with the most amazing apology for capitalism ever written by a socialist. Marx, of course, paid a tribute to the capitalist system for smashing feudalism and for releasing land from the inactive grip of the Church and the aristocracy, but Jaurès goes farther. Whilst fully aware of the selfishness and the brutality of the capitalist system, he blames Marx for not acknowledging more freely the sincere

and sustained social and moral enthusiasm of many of the bourgeoisie for greater justice and equality. Vividly he describes how a Rockefeller or a Carnegie, sated with wealth, seeks in the twilight of life to put his millions to some collective use. But from the economic point of view the socialism of Jaurès does not differ essentially from that of Marx. He accepts the Marxian theories of values created by labour, of the economic conception of history, and of the struggle between the classes which is its corollary. He sees that capitalist concentration paves the way for public ownership; and as production becomes increasingly collective it is right that at a given moment the ownership of the means of exchange should become so likewise. His conclusion is this: the working class must certainly react against capitalist exploitation; it must rely chiefly on itself for its political and social affranchisement, but not exclusively upon itself; it must not see the bourgeoisie as a "reactionary block" and scorn the intellectual and moral forces which help the cause of the working man; neither must it rely on violence alone to accomplish its aims. Acts of destruction only contrive to deceive a still distrustful humanity as to the meaning and value of socialist thought, which is to create, to organise, and to install a living order.[1]

Thus in the years immediately preceding the Great War, the French socialists were growing yearly in influence and number, and few could have foreseen that in a single week of 1914 their leader would have been assassinated, the party pledged to a brotherly alliance with their opponents of the Right, and many of its ideals ruthlessly violated.

ITALY

However much France may have suffered from party divisions, Italy, in the pre-war years, suffered still more, and the socialist parties were no better in this respect than their rivals. The history of Italian socialism is a record of competing groups, always seeking unity, but frequently breaking

[1] See Emile Vandervelde's article "Jaurès" in the *Labour Magazine*, January 1930.

up into contending factions. Possibly this was partly due to the fact that Italy was then illiterate, mediævally ignorant, and religiously superstitious.

The main Italian socialist party was formed at Genoai n 1892, and in the general elections of that year it returned 6 deputies. The following elections saw a rapid increase, till by 1900 the number of deputies had grown to 32. In 1904 only 27 deputies were returned, but by 1909 they had increased to 40. But there was always disunion. There were the Reformists, believing in political action and evolutionary socialism ; the Extremists, who, defeated at a Socialist Conference at Rome in 1906, left the party in 1907 to form a separate body of Syndicalists ; and an intermediate group called the Integralists. Other secessions took place in the pre-war years, and internal dissension did much to hinder the progress of the party. Italian syndicalism was partly a cross between co-operation and anarchism, and hence had characteristics of its own.

The war with Turkey, 1911–12, in which Italy laid claim to Tripolitana and Cyrenaica, did still more to split the party. Some of the ablest socialist leaders, including Sig. Bissolati and Sig. Bonomi, both future ministers, supported the war policy, with the result that at the Socialist Congress of Reggio Emilia in June 1912 they were " excommunicated " by the majority, who opposed the war on the grounds that patriotic feeling might distract men's attention from home problems. The majority now took the title of " Official Socialists," and the minority that of " Reformist Socialists."

In the 1913 elections there was a great increase in the socialist vote, and surprising victories were won in Milan, Florence, Turin, and Naples. The Constitutional Liberals, however, dominated the Parliament with 318 representatives under Giolitti, while 51 Official Socialists, 23 Reformist Socialists, and 6 Independent Socialists were returned—a net gain of 40 seats for the Socialists, who, with the 70 Radicals and 24 Catholics, formed the opposition. These successes made the socialists much bolder, and syndicalism and revolutionary rioting now began to give the Government much trouble. On 7th June 1914 a demonstration at Ancona, led

by the anarchist Enrico Malatesta, brought about rioting and a general strike, which rapidly spread to other towns. Revolvers and knives were not infrequently used. Thieves took advantage of the occasion to pillage whole districts, and in one case a mock Republic was actually set up; and it was not until the people banded together of their own initiative than the slack Government secured the upper hand and success, fully quelled and punished the railways syndicate in their threatened strike. A quiet spell was anticipated when the World War broke out.

It cannot be said that Italian socialists have added much to the theory of socialism or shown fellow-socialists how to improve the methods of obtaining power: they were mainly Latin imitators of their German or English confrères, with a strong dash of syndicalism and anarchism thrown in. The vicissitudes and persecutions they were to endure in future years might have been avoided if in these pre-war years they had had a greater sense of unity and a much higher ideal of ocial service.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The history of socialism in Austria-Hungary prior to the Great War is mainly one of a fight to secure a wider franchise, and of racial animosities destroying the unity and effectiveness of the party. As early as 1869 the German Social Democratic leader, William Liebknecht, had spoken in Vienna, but his uncompromising advocacy of Marxian doctrines led the Austrian Government to suppress the movement that resulted from his teachings. The Austrian Social Democratic Party, however, was organised at the close of the 'eighties by Dr. Victor Adler (1852–1918), the son of a well-to-do business man. His family having moved to Vienna from Prague, he early came under the influence of Lassalle. Is 1883 he went to London, where he formed a friendship with Engels, and on his return to Vienna he threw himself with ardour into Austrian politics. He found the workmen's party weakened by internal dissension, police prosecution and the general economic depression, and politically insignificant. The Radical and the Moderate Parties were at daggers drawn

while the Government of Count Taaffe combined social reform with the suppression of socialists. Adler's great task was to restore unity and confidence to the socialist forces. His paper, *Gleichheit* (Equality), appeared in 1886, to be followed eventually by the *Arbeiterzeitung*, which became the official organ of the newly re-organised Social Democratic Party. Towards the end of 1888 he carried the whole of the socialist elements with him at a Congress at Hainfeld, and secured their assent to the careful programme he submitted. The next year he appeared as the representative of the united Austrian party at the Second International, of which he became an official, and in the following year, 1890, there occurred the first of the tremendous May Day Demonstrations in Vienna. Adler now regarded it as his bounden duty and service to secure not only workers' representation in Parliament, but a socialist majority. The first step towards this was some widening of the restricted Austrian franchise. After three years of agitation (1893–96) some measure of franchise reform was secured. In the following year (1897) the party was re-organised on a basis recognising nationality, and in the elections of that year 14 Social Democrats were successful. In 1901, however, the party received a set-back, as only 10 members were returned. The franchise concession was, however, merely a sop, and did not long satisfy Adler. After a decade of further agitation and striving, the triumph of equal and universal male suffrage at twenty-four years of age was secured in January 1907. The socialist representation now increased to 87 out of 516, while the Christian Socialists, whose socialism is chiefly remarkable for its absence, secured 96 seats. Adler himself, who had been elected a member of the Lower Diet in 1902, was in 1905 elected a member of the Reichsrat, where he played an important part as Chairman of the Committee of the Social Democratic Party until his death in 1918.

Adler, however, could not maintain the unity in the party that he desired. Racial feeling was too strong for him, and the last general party congress of all Austrian nationalities took place in 1905.

At the elections of 1911, the Social Democrats increased their vote but lost 5 seats. It was now that the racial differences began to show up at their worst in the party, which, formerly united, separated into three groups—the German group with 47 members, the Bohemian or Czecho-Slovakian group of 26, and the Polish group of 8. Dr. Adler, however, was the recognised leader of the whole party.

Thus at the commencement of the Great War the socialist representation was 82 members, and all the other parties could be grouped into two main divisions: the Slav groups with 221 members, and the German groups with 177 members, so that in every controversy on national lines the Social Democrats held the balance of power, or would have held it could their own national differences have been composed. This, however, was not the case, for the party continued to be split on national lines, and unmasterly inactivity was the main result.

In Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy the socialists had by 1914 secured a position where they could have exercised a tremendous influence on national and international affairs had they been of one mind. It says a great deal for the merits of socialism that the socialist parties in all the leading European countries had doubled and trebled their numbers in the pre-war decade, in spite of opposition from without and disharmony within.

CHAPTER IX

Socialism in Minor European Countries, 1870–1914

Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and the Balkans

WHILST the leading countries of Europe were thus evolving their own socialist movements and policies, similar transformations of public opinion were taking place in the smaller European States; but as the socialists in these States followed the theories and methods of their greater neighbours, their socialist history for the greater part is a repetition on a small scale of the events elsewhere. It will therefore be sufficient to indicate briefly the progress of the movement in the various countries, without going into detail.

In both Belgium and Holland the socialist movement, compared with England, France, and Germany, is of much later origin. Possibly no working class in Western Europe has endured such misery as Belgium: long hours of labour, want of political rights, and lack of organisation tended for generations to keep the workers down. But the greatest reason of all was the appalling ignorance of the Belgian worker. In 1902, for instance, Belgium had 10·1 per cent. of illiterates, compared with the 0·07 per cent. in Germany; and even of those counted as literates a large percentage could only write their name. All the more surprising, therefore, was the awakening that began in Belgium in 1885. In that year the Belgian Labour Party was formed. Emile Vandervelde, its great leader, has truly said that it united the best of the socialist theories of the three great nations surrounding it; from England it adopted co-operation and self-help; from Germany, political tactics and fundamental doctrines; and from France its idealist tendencies. The result was a compact and ably led party.

From the year 1900 up to the Great War, the average socialist representation in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies was between thirty and forty in a chamber of 166 members, the greatest number being 39 in 1912, when the decennial redistribution of seats raised the number of deputies to 186.

The special feature of the Belgian socialist movement in these pre-war years was the development of its great co-operative organisation—the most successful commercial enterprise carried on by a socialist party anywhere in the world. This great experiment began at Ghent, in 1873, with an association of workmen to reduce the high price of bread by establishing a co-operative bakery. In 1880 this organisation gave birth to the famous Vooruit, which was launched on the world with a capital of £2, 16s. 3d. From these small beginnings there has grown up an enormous complex of business and social life which is the special feature of Belgian co-operation. Every great town has its co-operative establishment, which includes shops for retail sale, a café, and a library. The Vooruit at Ghent has also an enormous bakery, a brewery, a coal depot, drug stores, clothing stores, thirty grocery shops, and half a dozen cafés. The Maison du Peuple at Brussels, started in 1881, and now the headquarters of the Belgian socialist movement, is on exactly the same lines but on a larger scale.

HOLLAND

It was not until 1894 that the Social Democratic Labour Party was formed in Holland, but the following table gives an excellent idea of its steady parliamentary progress. In a house of one hundred members it returned in—

1897 . .	3	members with	13,000	votes.
1901 . .	7	,,	38,279	,,
1905 . .	7	,,	65,743	,,
1910 . .	7	,,	82,494	,,
1913 . .	16	,,	162,000	,,

The lack of progress during the period 1905–10 is accounted for by the fact that in 1908 the party split into two sections.

The ultra-Marxist Party, known as the Social Democrats (without the "Labour" prefix) seceded, and subsequently became communist.

After the elections of 1913 there were 45 Conservatives, 37 Liberals, and 16 Socialists in the Chamber. Tentative offers were made to the socialists to join a coalition. The party referred the matter to the International Bureau, which advised it not to join the Ministry, and the party vote confirmed this view, in spite of their leaders' advocacy of the opposite step.

The special features of pre-war socialism in Holland were firstly the appeal that it made to the artistic and intellectual classes, and secondly its flourishing co-operative movement.

DENMARK

In Denmark and Sweden the development of the socialist parties in pre-war years followed the lines of the British Labour Party, especially in Denmark, where the Social Democratic Party, formed in 1878, has from the first been organically connected with Trades Unionism, and has shown steady constitutional growth. In 1901 it elected 14 members to the Folketing (House of Commons) with 42,972 votes; in 1903 it had 16; in 1906, 1909, and 1910, 24 each year; and in May 1913 the membership grew to 32, with 107,000 votes. At the last-named election the Liberals secured 44 seats, Radicals 31, and the Conservatives only 7. The socialists' vote was the largest obtained by any party, and the King, therefore, invited M. Stauning, leader of the Social Democrats, to form a ministry, but he declined, as his party had not an absolute majority, and the Radical leader, who was pledged to reform the franchise, formed a ministry with socialist support. This was not a new departure, for the socialists had previously co-operated officially with the Radicals both at the polls and in Parliament, when the latter were in power.

Denmark is in the main an agricultural country, and it is clear that the Socialist Party succeeded in the difficult task of working out a socialist policy which commended itself to agriculturists. Agricultural co-operation, the co-operation

of small individual producers for specific purposes, had here attained its greatest development, and the policy of the Radical Government in promoting this co-operation and assisting agriculture as the chief industry of the country was supported by the Socialist Party, which, moreover, had itself formed co-operative societies on Belgian lines. Thus, as in England, the outbreak of war saw the Socialist Party in Denmark supporting and helping a Radical Government.

SWEDEN

The Swedish Social Democratic Party was formed in 1889, and was soon joined by the Trade Unions in a body. Hjalmar Branting, the parliamentary leader, was from 1896 to 1902 the only socialist in the Lower Chamber. In that year the socialist vote was 8751; in 1911, with a reformed electorate, it was 172,980, when 64 members were elected in the Lower House of 230 members (a gain of 31 compared with 1908); and 13 in the Upper of 130 (a gain of 12). In the same election the Conservative vote was 188,247 (65 members), and the Liberal, 242,127 (101 members). The Socialist Party declined to form a Coalition Government with the Liberals, but, as in Great Britain and Denmark, they gave a general support to the Government.

In the elections of March 1914 the Social Democrats secured 73 seats—a gain of 9—but as the Conservatives had secured 86 and the Liberals 71, no change was made in the ministry. Six months later the socialist representation was increased to 87, whilst the Liberal representation declined to 57. Socialism had certainly made great advances in Sweden in the pre-war decade, and its parliamentary influence was evident in the legislation that was passed, for it included old age pensions and sickness insurance.

NORWAY

In Norway the socialist movement began in 1887. Until 1890, the few socialists were identified with the old traditional Radical Left, but from that date onwards the Labour Party began gradually to separate from the Liberals, and a Social

Democratic Party was formed. In 1894, the total socialist vote amounted only to 732, but the party gradually increased in numbers and influence at succeeding elections for the Storthing and at municipal elections. A decade later, in 1903, the party had three members in Parliament, representing a vote of 24,526.

The party, however, did not maintain this representation, and in the Parliament of 1905, the year of the dissolution of the Union of Norway and Sweden and the temporary cessation of party strife, they had no sitting members. In spite of this the party was capable of forming a group among the Radicals, which henceforward was a factor with which to reckon. At this time, too, the new Trade Union movement began to progress and gradually secured for itself a separate influence in politics.

The general election campaign that followed the coronation of the new Norwegian king, Haakon VII., in July 1906, was opened by the Coalition Premier (Ch. Michelsen) himself with an address at Trondhjem, in which he outlined his programme and policy and recommended a Coalition " to consolidate the results of 1905." This idea secured the adhesion of the electors, and consequently in that year 77 Liberals and Left of all shades were elected, and 36 Conservatives, who were only willing to give " conditional " support, while 10 Socialists were in opposition.

Between 1906–12 all political interest was concentrated on the so-called " Concession-case," or the right of foreigners as well as natives to hold by Government concession real property in Norway, especially waterfalls, mines, and forests. Opposing waves of opinion swept the country : in 1909, it was a Conservative wave ; in 1912, a Radical. But the Socialists were growing steadily. In October 1909 they had 11 members, representing 91,594 votes, while in 1912, the last election prior to the Great War, the party had risen to 23 members, representing 124,594 votes—the Radicals having 76 members and the Conservatives 24. There were strong hopes among the Norwegian socialists that the next election would give them a majority—but the war came, and with it a temporary cessation of party strife.

SWITZERLAND

In Switzerland, which is more of an international province than a nation, the situation was more complicated for socialists than that of the northern European States. Its federal government, the absence of an effective party system, the presence of the Referendum and Initiative, and the fact that it can hardly be said to require a foreign policy, all render Switzerland an anomaly amongst European countries.

The Social Democratic Party, however, which was founded in 1888, had, in 1913, 1630 branches and about 45,000 members. There were 17 socialists in the National Assembly of 189 members—a gain of 10 seats since 1910. As might be expected, the main strength of socialism was to be found in industrial towns, and this was particularly evident in Zurich, where, in the Cantonal elections of 1913, the Socialists secured 49 seats, the Liberals 50, and the Democrats 26.

Swiss socialism always had a very strong tinge of internationalism in it, not only because of its situation in the heart of Europe, but also because it was here that so many socialist conferences and congresses were held from 1867 onwards.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

In Spain and Portugal in pre-war days, socialism had made little progress, although socialist parties were founded there in 1879 and 1875 respectively. Señor Iglesias, the veteran leader of the General Workers' Union, was the first and only socialist in the Spanish Cortes from 1910 to 1914. Portugal, too, had only one socialist member in pre-war years.

THE BALKAN STATES

Not unnaturally socialism had made little progress in any of the Balkan States in pre-war years, since the question of nationality was the most prominent of all political questions in their eyes ; but socialist parties were formed in Bulgaria in 1893 and in Serbia and Rumania during the next decade.

The Greek Labour League was formed in 1909 by Dr. Drakoulis, who became for two years, 1910–12, a member of the Greek Parliament. The Socialist Labour Party, formed in 1911, was closely allied to the Labour League, but neither were powerful or numerous.

In Bulgaria there were two sections, called the "Broad" and the "Narrow." Before the split in 1900, socialists had been elected to the Sobranje, and in 1911 six (five "Broad" and one "Narrow") were returned to the "Grand Sobranje," elected for the revision of the constitution. This was double the size of the regular parliament, and at the election of the regular assembly later in the year none was successful. But in June 1912 one was returned at a by-election. The socialist vote in 1911 was 25,565 out of 490,568.

In the Servian Skupstchina of 166 deputies, two socialists were elected in 1912. The party polled 25,000 votes in six out of seventeen districts.

In each of these countries the socialists, during the Balkan War of 1912–13, took up an attitude of protest, and consequently incurred the hostility, not only of their respective Governments, but of the people generally.

This brief survey of socialism in the various minor countries of Europe during the pre-war years shows that socialist societies or movements had been started in every great industrial centre throughout the continent. Wherever the factory system obtained—with its capitalist concentration and wage-labour—there socialist movements began and flourished. Taking Europe as a whole, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that in the pre-war years one-sixth of the total male population of Europe was socialistically minded, yet nowhere had the socialists obtained power.

CHAPTER X

The Second International

WE have already seen in an earlier chapter how the first "International Working Men's Association" was formed in 1864, and how it flourished and declined in the next decade. There were many who, in the 'seventies, thought that international socialism would never again be practical, but the International had only suffered a brief eclipse. The various socialistic societies all over the world continued to be fully conscious of the international character of the movement in which they were engaged. Without a formal organisation, they represented the claims and aspirations of the same class, had common sympathies, and pursued like aims. While differing greatly in methods of action, and even in principle, they felt that they belonged to the same stream of historic effort and tendency.

These international sympathies soon began again to find an expression in Congresses, the first for several years being the Congress at Berne in 1876, which was not marked by any noteworthy feature. Other Congresses followed at irregular intervals. Greater than any socialist congress previously held was that which assembled at Paris in 1889, the centenary of the Revolution. Actually there were two Congresses, one Marxian and the other Possibilist or moderate, but their virtual union at Paris was skilfully brought about, and it was at this conference that the Second International was born. The cleavage of principle between the two original conferences was by no means definite, the difference being due largely to personal matters, especially as regards the French socialist parties, which issued the invitations. The united Congress advocated an energetic collectivism, and urged more practical measures for the protection of labour, such as Sunday rest, and an eight-hours working day.

After being alarmed by an International of Workers, the world was agreeably startled by the project for an International of Governments. In 1889 the Swiss Government brought forward a proposal for an International Conference on Labour of the countries most interested in industrial competition. The question assumed a new aspect when, early in 1890, the young German Emperor issued rescripts, one of which contained the same proposal. Naturally, the matters presented for discussion by the Emperor covered only a small part of the ground occupied by the International of Workers. The protection of adult labour, except in mines, was excluded from the business of the conference. Sunday labour, the protection of women, children, and young persons, were the chief questions laid before the meeting. The conference gave a much-needed and a beneficial stimulus to legislation for the protection of labour in civilised countries, though it by no means realised the sanguine expectations that many formed regarding it.

International Congresses of socialists followed at Brussels in 1891, at Zurich in 1893, and in London in 1896. Both at Brussels and London there was much disorder, caused chiefly by the presence of a considerable number of delegates with anarchist sympathies, and proving too clearly that the International of Workers was not yet ready to march together.

These were followed by Congresses at Paris for a second time in 1900, at Amsterdam in 1904, at Stuttgart in 1907, Copenhagen in 1910, and Basle in 1912.

The disorders which prevailed at the Congresses of Brussels and London led to the adoption of measures for the better ordering of business, and for the better organisation of the Congresses "destined to become the parliament of the proletariat." From the Paris Congress of 1900 to the outbreak of the Great War, all associations were admitted which adhered to the essential principles of socialism: socialisation of the means of production and exchange; international union and action of the workers; socialist conquest of political power by the proletariat organised as a class party; also all the trade organisations which placed them-

selves on the basis of the class struggle and recognised the necessity of political action, legislative and parliamentary. Anarchists were, therefore, excluded.

At former Congresses much time was spent in hearing verbal reports—in French, English, and German—of the progress of socialism in various countries, but early in the century written reports were printed and laid before the Congress. These reports form a most valuable storehouse of information with regard to the development of socialism throughout the world.

The method of voting at the Congress was reformed. Up to 1907 every nation had two votes, and consequently the handful of delegates representing countries internationally unimportant or non-existent, and speaking in some cases on behalf of groups of agitators with no political standing, could easily outvote the Germans, French, and English with their millions of supporters and long experience of political responsibility. At the Stuttgart Congress a new system was adopted for future Congresses : the votes were allocated to each nation according to its importance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, and Russia having 20 votes each, Italy 15, and so on through the scale, most of the smaller nationalities receiving 4, and Luxemburg 2. This reform gave much greater reality to the decisions of the Congress.

The result of those measures was manifest at the Stuttgart Congress, where the business proceeded with dispatch and in comparative order. Delegates to the number of 886 were assembled from twenty-six nationalities, and discussed matters of importance relating to the International social movement.

The revival of the International was an accomplished fact. But it was a revival in a new form and under conditions which had undergone a marvellous change. The old International had been compared by Vandervelde to a brilliant general staff without an army ; but the new counted its armies in millions, for although in many countries the socialist movement had hardly begun, and in only one or two countries had it attained any real strength, it could boast powerful and well-organised parties in most of the leading

countries of Europe, whose adherents were growing by thousands yearly.

The Copenhagen Congress of 1910 was attended by 896 delegates representing 23 nationalities, in numbers varying from 189 Germans to 1 delegate from the Argentine. It was divided into five Commissions which discussed: (1) the Relations between Co-operation and Socialism, (2) Trade Unions, (3) International arbitration and disarmament, (4) Legislation on Unemployment, (5) General Resolutions. On the first subject the Congress recorded its cordial approval of Consumers' Co-operation, and urged that Trade Union wages should be paid, funds allocated to education, and friendly relations established between Co-operators, Trade Unionists, and Socialists. The Congress approved of Trade Unions, and deprecated racial divisions amongst Trade Unionists. It demanded State provision for the relief of unemployment by means, *inter alia*, of insurance, and public works in times of crisis. Other resolutions called for the abolition of capital punishment, and Socialist Unity in all countries. International arbitration and general disarmament were approved; but an amendment by Keir Hardie and Vaillant advocating a general strike in order to prevent war was rejected by 131 nationality votes to 51, and was referred to the Bureau for a report to be presented to the next Congress. Other resolutions dealt with the political situation in Turkey, Finland, Persia, Morocco, and other countries, with Labour Legislation (the Eight-Hours Day, Child Labour, Truck, Factory Inspection, etc.), and International Solidarity.

In November 1912, a Special Congress was hurriedly called together at Basle to protest against the participation, which then appeared imminent, of the Great Powers in the Balkan War. At a few weeks' notice 555 delegates, including 13 from Great Britain, assembled, and with remarkable unanimity and celerity adopted a resolution calling on the working classes to pit the international solidarity of the workers against the might of the capitalist imperialism; it demanded protests in every Parliament, and the use of all possible means to prevent the outbreak of war. It is, of

course, impossible to calculate the effect of this demonstration in favour of peace; but in fact war did not break out, and the foreign offices of the Powers succeeded in avoiding the international disaster which then seemed almost inevitable.

The next regular Congress was to have been held at Vienna in August 1914, but was abandoned owing to the outbreak of the Great War.

The permanent office of these Congresses was the International Socialist Bureau (established by the 1900 Congress), which during these years assumed a steadily growing importance. From the offices in the Maison du Peuple at Brussels a steady stream of circulars and documents was issued by the indefatigable secretary, M. Camille Huysmans. From Russia, Portugal, and the Balkans, where wars or revolutions were in progress, came appeals to the workmen of the world, which were issued through the agency of the Bureau. Every few months the Bureau met—that is to say, delegates from the affiliated nationalities assembled at Brussels to discuss international problems, and to arrange the International Congresses. In every country and racial unit there was a local organisation connected with the Bureau, and in some cases more than one socialist party was directly and separately affiliated. The British Party had 20 Congress votes, and these were allocated 10 to the Labour Party, 4 to the Independent Labour Party, 4 to the British Socialist Party, and 2 to the Fabian Society. The British committee met every few months to instruct its delegates to Brussels, and occasionally to communicate with its affiliated organisations. Where, as in Germany, there was but one Socialist Party for all purposes, no such arrangement was necessary.

The Bureau at Brussels published a *Bulletin Periodique* in three languages—French, German, and English, the three languages recognised for international purposes—containing a chronicle of socialist doings and happenings in all lands, a Parliamentary Report in connection with the Interparliamentary Commission—that is, a subsidiary organisation consisting of delegates representing the members of Parliament of the various countries,—a list of the names and addresses of the delegates to the Bureau, of the secretaries

of affiliated parties and parties not affiliated, and finally a very long classified list of books and documents sent to the Bureau during the year.

In England, with its insular outlook, the International Bureau was regarded as a hopeful organisation which ought to be supported, rather than as a body whose dicta really carried weight. We can hardly imagine our political leaders of the time asking the opinion of the Bureau whether they should accept an offer of seats in the Cabinet, yet this step was taken by the Dutch socialist leader when invited to join the Liberal Cabinet in July 1913 after the general election which gave a majority to the Liberals and Socialists, who had been hitherto in opposition; and we have already seen the influence the International had on French politics.

A long series of resolutions were passed by the various Congresses which have met between 1889 and 1914. If we take these resolutions along with the elaborate programmes which were formulated by the various national parties, and of which the Erfurt programme may be regarded as the type, we have a set of documents that authoritatively represent what the socialists of the world put forward as their opinions during this period.

The most important points on which socialists of all lands agreed in these pre-war years were :

1. That the means of production, distribution, and exchange should be transferred to society as a whole.

2. That the conquest of political power by the organised action of the working class of all lands is the chief means towards this great end.

3. Meanwhile the great task of the socialist parties was education, agitation, and organisation in the widest sense, with a view to the physical and moral regeneration of the working class, so as to fit it for its great mission, and to rouse the class consciousness of the workers.

4. That the struggle for equal and direct universal suffrage, and especially votes for women, as well as for the initiative and referendum, was an important phase of the political struggle.

5. That the more purely political struggle of the socialist parties should go hand in hand with the more purely economic

struggle of the Trade Unions, and the closest relations should be maintained between the two movements.

6. That the right of association, of combination, of free meeting, of free speech, and of a free Press should be claimed.

7. That the 1st of May should be specially set aside for demonstrations in favour of the eight-hours working day, which day is most desirable for improving the family life, the education, the health, energy, intelligence, and morality of the working class.

8. That a large system of protective legislation in favour of the working class should be worked for. Besides an eight-hours day for adults, they demanded special legislation for children, young people, and women ; proper rest for all ages ; restriction of night work ; abolition of the sweating system ; effective inspection of factories, shops, and of domestic labour, as well as of agriculture.

9. They were very strongly opposed to militarism, which they considered due not so much to national or political differences as to the struggle of the capitalist classes for new markets. They believed that war would end only with the ending of capitalism. The Socialist Parties of the various countries were recommended to vote against standing armies and against expenditure for every existing army and navy.

10. The majority at Congresses condemned the system of establishing colonies in the Tropics as merely an extension of the field of exploitation of the capitalist class. This did not refer to the colonial system of England, in so far as it consisted in the development of self-governing communities.

It can truly be said that the Second International was a steadily growing force for the propagation of these ideals. It was no longer a revolutionary conspiracy, but an association of parliamentary leaders, of officials managing great popular organisations, of men whose words carried weight in their own countries, and sometimes throughout the world ; but its real strength lay in the national sections, and as a whole it lacked effective adhesion or unity. The compromise which gave it birth in the original fusion of the two Paris conferences of 1889, stamped its proceedings throughout. But even this unity was shattered in the war years. War and post-war

secessions, as the next chapter will tell, resulted in only the British, German (Social Democratic), Swedish, Polish, Belgian, and Dutch Socialist Parties remaining within its ambit out of the twenty-eight who were affiliated in 1914, while the remaining Socialist or Communist Parties of the world split further into the Third and "Two and a half" (or Vienna) Internationals.

CHAPTER XI

Socialism and the Great War

ON 28th June 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Empire, was assassinated at Sarajevo. That explosion brought in its train the downfall of half a dozen empires, it cost the lives of nine million men, and for five years practically put an end to all ideas of a brotherhood of man or any other of the world ideals of the socialist movement.

For three weeks the significance of the murder was barely realised, but when, on 23rd July, Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia, the Socialist Parties of Austria, Germany, France, and Great Britain held mass meetings protesting against the threat of hostilities. The socialist leaders of all European countries were of one mind in their efforts to avert war. Only in Russia were these demonstrations silenced—there police and soldiery, revolver and rifle, dispersed the would-be demonstrators.

Meanwhile, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of July, the National Conference of the Unified Socialists was held at Paris, thus preceding by a month the International Congress that was to take place at Vienna. At the Paris conference, fraternal delegates from other countries were present : Anseele and Wauters came from Belgium ; Bruce Glasier, Smith, and Kennedy from England ; Pleckhanov and Rubanovitch from Russia ; Karl Liebknecht (the son of William Liebknecht) from Germany ; Georges Weill from Alsace-Lorraine ; Vliegen from Holland ; and Alessandri and Repossi from Italy.

The great question for discussion, in view of the forthcoming meeting of the International, was what measures should be taken against war and imperialism. Vaillant once again insisted, as he had done at Stuttgart and Copen-

hagen, on the general strike. Jaurès and Marcel Sembat supported him; but Varenne, Hervé, Jules Guesde, and others were hostile, urging that the real danger of a general strike would be to deliver the most socialist nations to the domination of the least socialist, and thus, as Guesde said, " assurer l'écrasement du socialisme et de la civilisation. . . . C'est pour cela que, dans un congres socialiste, jamais, jamais, jamais, la grève générale, en case de guerre, ne sera votée par un socialiste conscient." He was right, but the Congress supported Vaillant, and passed a resolution, cleverly drawn up by Jaurès, who was an adept at wording resolutions so that they should be acceptable to both wings, urging that a general strike *simultaneously and internationally organised* would be particularly effective against war. During the ensuing fortnight eleven French newspapers, including Hervé's, strenuously advocated the general strike, and many thought they had made headway.

On 28th July, Austria declared war on Serbia, and as the danger of a general European war grew, so did the socialist protests become more stubborn in all the great cities of Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and Great Britain; but from Russia hardly a murmur came through. The war fever was now in full flood. Socialist demonstrations for peace were met by processions of youths clamouring for war; collisions followed.

The next day, the socialist leaders from all parts of Europe were assembled in Brussels at the Maison du Peuple for a meeting of the Bureau of the International. France was represented by Jaurès, Guesde, Vaillant, Marcel Sembat, and Jean Longuet; Germany by Haase, Müller, and Philipp Scheidemann; Rosa Luxembourg, who had taken part in the Russian Revolution of 1905, and on her return to Germany founded with Karl Liebknecht the Spartacus League,[1] represented the Polish socialists; Victor and Friedrich Adler represented Austria; and Bruce Glasier, Irving, and Keir Hardie Great Britain. Belgium, Russia, Italy, Switzerland,

[1] During the greater part of the war she was imprisoned by the German authorities, and after the revolution edited with Liebknecht the *Rote Fahne*. Both were killed in street rioting in January 1919.

Hungary, Denmark, and Spain were also represented, but not Serbia.

In spite of the seriousness of the situation, the delegates met hopefully; but before many minutes had gone by the last hope of averting a general war vanished.

Victor Adler, the veteran founder of Austrian socialism, and now the living embodiment of anguish and defeat, announced that owing to the critical internal situation in Austria, the Austrian socialists must support their Government in its war measures, and that the International Congress could not be held at Vienna. Nemec, for the Czechs, confirmed Adler's statement.

The delegates were amazed. Here at the first breath of war was the solid and powerful Austrian party supporting war measures. Haase followed, with the promise that German socialists, at least, would do all they could to prevent war, and other delegates vowed that their respective parties would not vote in favour of war credits. The Bureau then decided to hold the International Congress at Paris on 9th August, instead of at Vienna a month later, and passed a resolution urging the proletariat of all nations to intensify their demonstrations against war.

To a meeting that evening of 8000, Jaurès spoke prophetically from his innermost heart: "After the intoxication of the first battles," he said, "if the absolute masters succeed in inflaming the masses until death and misery show their hideous faces everywhere, and typhus rounds off the work of the guns, then all armies will turn against their rulers and ask, 'What are your reasons for these heaped corpses?' Then revolution unleashed will say to them, 'Begone, and pray to God and man for mercy.' But if we succeed in abating the storm, then the peoples will cry, 'Let us forbid this spectre to rise every six months from the grave to affright the world.'"

That was the last speech Jaurès made. Two days later he was assassinated in Paris.

Meanwhile, in Germany the knowledge that war was unavoidable, combined with the systematic "instruction" and incitement of the people, called forth a national enthusiasm and sense of unity in all classes. The Social Democrats

watched the events leading up to the war, and the preparation for war against Russia, with earnest attention but with little enthusiasm or satisfaction.

On 1st August, before they finally lost their sense of perspective, the socialist leaders issued a manifesto urging their followers to continue in the belief that the future belonged to socialism " as the great bond between nations " ; but the tide was becoming too strong to resist—so strong that, if they had resisted, it is questionable whether any of their followers would have stood by them.

On that day, 1st August, the parliamentary group of the Unified Socialists in Paris received a visit from Herr Müller, one of the socialist members of the German Reichstag. He was well received, and in a statement on the attitude of the German socialists announced that his colleagues were divided as to whether they would abstain from voting war credits or would vote *against* them ; but in any case he said they would not vote *for* them.

Müller left Paris that evening, and on arriving in Berlin learnt that Germany had declared war on Russia and France. He was just in time to vote with his socialist comrades *for* the war credits and to cry " Hoch " in honour of the Kaiser. What a change ! Two days previously the socialists had told the Imperial Chancellor they would be obliged to vote against war credits : that day they voted them *en masse*. But meanwhile misrepresentation had done its work. The previous day, at a meeting of the Socialist Party, Kautsky had urged abstention from voting, as Bebel had in 1870. Haase, Ledebour, and Liebknecht, for the minority, urged resistance. But by 78 votes to 14 the party, at Ebert's suggestion, decided to support war credits. Haase bowed to party discipline, and read out in the Reichstag the party policy with which he disagreed. Blinded by patriotism, deluded and mesmerised by the dreams of pseudo-glory, by the excitement and fever that the prospect of a war always brings, the Social Democrats, almost as a man, dropped their principles and beliefs overboard, abandoned the International, and with acclamations joined their rivals in voting the first war credit of ten milliard marks.

The attitude of the German socialists surprised socialists the world over. Austrian socialists followed the example of their German confrères. The great betrayal had begun.

On 4th August the funeral of Jean Jaurès took place. René Viviani, the President of the Council, over the grave of " le plus passionné des hommes," called all Frenchmen to unity—" à l'apaisement national, à la concorde suprême ; le puissant tribun, s'il pouvait se lever frémissant, ne tiendrait pas autre langage."

That afternoon, in the Chamber, the socialists unanimously joined " L'Union Sacrée," and voted for war credits and other measures for the better prosecution of the war. They voted with never a word in explanation of their volte-face. No mention was made of the general strike ; instead, they were pondering their chances of inclusion in a reorganised ministry.

On 26th August Viviani enlarged his ministry and included three socialists : Marcel Sembat took the ministry of Public Works, Jules Guesde that of Minister without portfolio, and Albert Thomas was brought into organising the production of munitions. They had entered a bourgeois ministry, and thus signified that all political and social quarrels were at an end until Imperial Germany was crushed.

Vaillant and Hervé, like Blatchford in England, now became intensely patriotic and anti-pacifist. Vaillant died in 1915, and was thus spared the formal exclusion from the Socialist Party that befell Hervé later on.

Meanwhile, in England the Labour Party issued a fine manifesto urging that one million German socialists and Trade Unionists had protested against the war, and that the workers of Great Britain should unite with the workers of France and Russia " in saying that though our Governments declare war, we declare peace." Tens of thousands flocked together on Sunday, 2nd August, to protest against war : only in England, where free speech was still a national boast, could it be so. Keir Hardie and MacDonald spoke to orderly crowds, but other crowds and larger were gathering—crowds that marched to Buckingham Palace and patriotically cheered the prospect of war.

The following day Germany delivered her ultimatum to

Belgium ; like a shot from a gun came the British ultimatum to Germany, and the consequent resignation of Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns from the Cabinet—an example that was followed by Mr. Charles Trevelyan, Secretary of the Board of Education.[1] That night Britain declared war in defence of the neutrality of Belgium, and the majority of British socialists, even Fabians and members of the I.L.P., supported the war. Only a few of the forty-two Labour Members of Parliament remained incorruptible—MacDonald, Ponsonby, and Snowden being prominent. Keir Hardie made one last appeal, and in the House of Commons urged that, "In Germany, in France, in Belgium, and in Austria, the party corresponding to our own is taking all manner of risk to promote and preserve peace." (An Honourable Member : "Why do they not control the German Emperor?") "I am asked why they do not control the German Emperor. For the same reason that we do not control the Liberal Cabinet—we are not strong enough. But we are growing. . . ."

The majority of the Labour Party, however, including Arthur Henderson and G. N. Barnes, resolved to help the Government in every possible way, and on 5th August agreed to the vote of war credits, and thus, like the German, Austrian, and French socialists, put patriotism before socialism in order to present, nation by nation and nation against nation, a united front to the enemy.

There are few greater examples of personal courage than that displayed by MacDonald and his fellow-pacifists during this period. But this, perhaps, was only to be expected from men whose lives had been remarkable examples of courage. In 1914, MacDonald's devotion to the ideal of international socialism caused him to oppose not only British public sentiment in general, but also a section of the Labour Party, of which he was Chairman, and he felt it necessary to resign this post. The result was that he, E. D. Morel, Trevelyan, and Norman Angell formed the Union of Democratic Control, which from 1914 onwards courageously advocated peace by democratic negotiation.

[1] Later Sir Charles Trevelyan, who became the President of the Board of Education in the Labour Ministries of 1924 and 1929–30.

Likewise in every other belligerent country the socialist leaders and members had to face the question whether they would be loyal to their principles of international peace or assist their respective nations to prosecute a successful war.

In Belgium the Socialist Party, in face of great national danger, decided to support the Government unreservedly. The Chamber delegated many of its powers to the local authorities, and finally transferred the seat of its deliberations to Ostend, and later to Havre. From 20th August to the end of the war the greater part of Belgium was in German occupation, and among those Belgians who remained was Joseph Wauters, the socialist leader, who was foremost against any negotiated peace.

In Austria there was a somewhat unexpected loyalty of all parties and all races to the Austrian Emperor, mainly due to the profound impression caused by the murder of the heir to the throne and the belief that forces without were working for the disruption of the Empire. The Social Democrats, therefore, like their Belgian comrades, supported the Government in its efforts to wage war effectively and to win it.

Thus the outbreak of the war proved that national feelings were stronger than international. It is true that in Serbia, the country first affected by invasion, the Socialist Party stood by the International and voted against the war credits; but their example was not followed. The most important national sections affected (with the exception of Russia), Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany, rallied to the support of what they regarded as a war of national defence. Opposition was expressed only by minorities in each of these countries, consisting of extreme revolutionary socialists or of pacifist socialists.

The effect of the war was, accordingly, to break up the International into two sections, pro-war and anti-war. The International Secretariat was immediately transferred from Brussels to Holland, and substitute members were taken on to the Executive from the Dutch section. There followed a period of sectional conferences. In January 1915, the neutral socialists met at Copenhagen and issued an appeal to the belligerent socialists to strive for peace. In February 1915,

the allied socialist leaders met in London and passed a resolution emphasising the necessity of continuing the war. In April 1915, the Central Powers socialists met at Vienna and passed resolutions dealing chiefly with relations after the war.

All these conferences were held with the knowledge and sanction of the International Executive, which was endeavouring by negotiation to pave the way for a full congress. But in September 1915, the anti-war socialists took matters into their own hands, and held the first really International Socialist Conference since the outbreak of war at Zimmerwald in Switzerland. Thirty-one delegates were present. Unofficial delegates came from Germany and France, and official delegates from Italy, Switzerland, Russia (including Lenin, who was in exile in Switzerland), Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, Bulgaria, Sweden, Norway, and Holland. Bruce Glasier and Jowett would have been the British delegates of the I.L.P., but were refused passports.

The Zimmerwald manifesto, signed by the majority, denounced the war as " the outcome of Imperialism, and of the endeavours of the capitalist classes of every nation to satisfy their greed for profit by the exploitation of human labour and the treasures of nature . . ." and urged peace without annexations or indemnities.

The Zimmerwald Conference set up a permanent International Socialist Commission, which was henceforth in tacit, though not at first intended, rivalry with the official Dutch bureau, and became the nucleus of the Communist International, which worked out its programme, tactics, and organisation under the guidance and inspiration of Lenin. This rivalry became intensified when a second conference was held under the auspices of the Commission at Kienthal in April 1916, and the revolutionary section of the anti-war socialists began to play a more dominant part.

The first few months of the war revealed no change in the attitude of the German Social Democrats. They looked upon the war simply as a war of defence against Russia, and although they were amazed at the unexpected and rapid run of events, in the exultation of the early victories they even published a protest against the anti-German attitude of the International

Socialist Bureau, and doing so clearly separated themselves from the socialists of enemy countries. Even in December 1914, when they voted for the second war credit, they were still bright-eyed with the war fever—Haase, their leader, expressing the view that victory was certain. In March of the next year, 1915, Haase again rose and expressed the gratitude of the country to the troops for their valour. Meanwhile the Imperial Government, magnanimous in their good fortune at being so heartily supported, decided that they must meet the socialists half-way and show their gratitude " by fulfilling demands long preferred in vain." Accordingly they announced that the Government had been pleased to grant that the legend, " To the German Peoples " be inscribed in the place originally meant for it on the Reichstag building ! But by the May of 1915 a pacifist element had come into being, having taken its birth from extreme socialism. Headed by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, an agitation for the refusals of war credits and for a general strike to stop the war was systematically organised.

In the May of 1915, Italy entered the war, but as this was expected the Germans were not depressed, although the Government felt it advisable to go out of its way to dispel any doubt there might have been as to the ultimate victor in the struggle. More money was again needed, and a further credit was passed without protest by the Social Democrats as a whole, though at the previous party meeting 36 voted against agreeing to it. But the straw which showed which way the wind was beginning to blow was the one Social Democratic vote against the Bill, that of Karl Liebknecht—a significant fact in view of the party's strict discipline.

The Parliamentary Social Democratic Party, while having little in common with the extremists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, now began to realise the nature of the struggle in which they were engaged, and from this time onwards the official party worked for peace in a moderate manner.

A sensation was caused by a further action on the part of the " Minority Party " when, in June 1915, they published a Peace Manifesto in the Paris newspaper *L'Humanité*. This

document was furiously repudiated by the "Majority" of the socialists, who, in a counter-manifesto issued on 23rd June, themselves called upon the German Government to open peace negotiations. The suppression of the *Vorwaerts* for publishing it was the first antagonistic move of the Government since the commencement of the war—a move which renewed all the old party bitterness, and marked the beginning of the open fight (in which all the non-socialists ranged themselves on the side of the Government) that raged between the two until the revolution of 1918.

A second appeal was made in August 1915, and when, in December 1915, additional war credits came up to be passed, 19 of the 110 socialist deputies, including Haase, Bernstein, and Karl Liebknecht, voted against them, not only in the party session but openly in the Reichstag. The minority was subsequently sharply censured by the party for breaking the party's discipline.

It was obvious to all that the strong, vigorous, victory-compelling Social Democratic Party of 1914 was splitting in all directions.

During the second war winter, that of 1915–16, the German people first began to feel the shortage of food, and the Government the shortage of money. The whole nation was becoming war-weary, despite the Government's attempt to stimulate enthusiasm, and in the German Parliament it was evident that serious divisions of opinion were growing among the socialists. The actual rupture came over the question of the submarine warfare. A resolution was framed in March 1916 by the Conservatives, at the instance of the navy, stating that complete freedom of the use of the U-boat was to be reserved in the negotiation with any other Power. To this, the socialists could not agree, and the resolution had to be dropped in favour of another. This resolution declared that the U-boat had proved most successful against Britain's method of warfare, and that it was imperative to make use of this weapon to ensure the achievement of peace and the security of Germany.

The refractory nineteen in the Social Democratic Party seized this resolution as a pretext for breaking away from

the official party in the Reichstag. These nineteen voted against the resolution, and, more than that, now began to consider the formation of a separate party, which afterwards became known as the Independent Socialist Party, of which Haase, the former leader and President of the Social Democrats, became the leader.

In April 1916 the socialists found that they were becoming more divided and broken up than ever, for Liebknecht and Ruhle were still further to the Left than Haase, and would not join the Independent Group, because it was not sufficiently extreme.

Thus, from the middle of 1916 onwards, a minority of the German socialists had adopted a definitely anti-war position; and by the end of 1916 an extreme socialist and even revolutionary movement was gathering power among the people. Police tyranny or "preventive arrest" could not keep it under.

The attitude of the majority of the Social Democrats to the war was now clearly defined at a Congress of Social Democrats representing the whole Empire, held in September 1916. At this Congress they adopted the resolution that while they acknowledged the duty of defence, they rejected any idea of a war of conquest, and advocated the full re-establishment of international relationships. Meanwhile, the Government had shown what they thought on 28th June 1916, when Karl Liebknecht was arrested for his leading part in the peace demonstrations in Berlin, and sentenced to two years' penal servitude. But despite the Government's spasmodic persecutions and their own internal disruption, the socialists steadily gained increasing influence—a fact of which the Government was well aware. Indeed, they knew this so well, that they felt bound to make some concessions; therefore they abolished the prohibition which had been placed on the use of foreign languages at political meetings, and made it possible for young persons to attend assemblies arranged by the Trade Unions.

The leaders of the Majority Socialists at this period were Philipp Scheidemann (1865–1930), and Friedrich Ebert (1870–1925). Ebert, the son of an impecunious tailor, had

early been a convert to socialist ideals, and by 1913 he had won his way to the Chairmanship of the Social Democratic Party, which he led with conspicuous common sense and sober suavity.

By the Easter of 1917 the German Majority Socialists commanded prestige and a wonderful organisation, so much so that the Emperor's Easter Message, announcing reform and a wider franchise, was almost ignored; while they made so bold as to declare against the annexation of Belgium and indemnities.

In May 1917 the subject of submarine warfare came up for further discussion, and again Scheidemann, as leader of the Social Democrats, attacked the Government and its war aims. Erzberger, a member of the Catholic centre, now became the great champion of the cause for peace, and he was given every support by the Social Democrats, the Democrats, and the Catholic Centre Party. The Social Democrats, while believing heart and soul in the "peace cause," supported Erzberger for another reason: they felt that this was a way to safeguard the influence of Parliament on the political situation that was developing day by day as the war went on. They felt, too, that they would never attain peace so long as Hollweg remained Chancellor, for Hollweg was by now wholly under the thumb of General Ludendorff—so much so, that even the Conservatives and Liberals felt that it was advisable and imperative to supplant him. But Hollweg was determined to keep his exalted position as long as possible, and in his efforts to reconcile the Left even appealed to the Kaiser to grant reforms for which they had been agitating for years. As the result of his efforts the Emperor issued a declaration stating that the next general election in Prussia would be conducted along the lines of the reform which they advocated.

The socialists by sheer determination and perseverance were attaining their objectives one by one, in the face of strong Governmental opposition. This concession was a great feather in their cap, but they were not to be enticed by dazzling political bribes from the straight path they had chosen. Hollweg's day was over, and his position such that

he had to tender his resignation. He was succeeded by Dr. Michaelis, upon Count Hertling declining the honour.

In Dr. Michaelis' new Cabinet only one Social Democrat held Cabinet rank, August Müller, the Trades Union leader, who was appointed Under Secretary for the War Food Department. This Cabinet was not very old when the Social Democrats, the People's Party, and the Catholic Centre brought forward in the July of 1917 a resolution for peace by agreement, and strongly deploring the "acquisition of territory by force, or by either political, economical, or financial measures of coercion." But they stated that if any Government would not agree to the "freedom of the seas," or to the desire of the German Government to promote international law in the world, then they would continue to fight as one man. This resolution, which was passed by 216 votes to 126, expressed no new principles as far as the Social Democrats were concerned: it was but bringing forward in words that which they had stood for since late in 1915.

Likewise in France, for the first year of the war the French socialists were united in the prosecution of the war, and early in 1915 Albert Thomas, one of the leading French socialists, was admitted to the Cabinet; but in May 1915 another tendency became evident, that of anti-chauvinism and peace, and Jean Longuet and Paul Faure became the leaders of this minority group. Up till then the participation of Jules Guesde, Marcel Sembat, and Albert Thomas in the Ministry had been accepted without opposition by the party. This changed, however, when the idea of a compromise peace began to spread among socialist deputies. They commenced an ardent propaganda, the success of which may be gauged by the fact that at the national congress of April 1916 their motion in favour of re-establishing communication between the various sections of the International was supported by 960 votes against 1996.

From that date onwards the minority continued to gain ground until the day when they themselves became the dominant section; but as "little fleas have lesser fleas," so did the minority have upon its left a still more extreme minority, that of the Zimmerwaldians, who were represented in the

Chamber by Alexandre Blanc, Brizon, and Raffin-Dugens, who, from May 1916 onwards, voted systematically against all war credits. The Zimmerwaldians gradually found more supporters from among the Unified Socialists, and at the Paris Congress of the party, held in December 1916, their strength was 233 out of 1595. The power of the two minorities together may be gauged from the fact that on the question as to whether Albert Thomas was "authorised" to continue as a party official in the Government, the voting was 1637 to 1372, whilst on the even more important question of the resumption of international (socialist) relations, the voting was 1537 to 1407. In August the "majority" had a majority of over 1000 in the party, in December it had fallen to 130 against the two minorities.

A few months later socialist collaboration with the various successive Governments came to an end. On 7th September 1917 the Ribot ministry fell, and the new Painlevé ministry contained not a single socialist. Finally came Clemenceau—"the Tiger"—who quickly showed that he at least would have little to do with the eminent failures of previous patchwork Cabinets. Moral mobilisation followed, and France surged with the divine fire of a patriotic renaissance.

In the summer of 1917 a very determined effort was made to organise an International Peace Conference in Stockholm. The proposal was made by a Dutch-Scandinavian committee of socialists, of which H. Branting, the Swedish socialist leader, was Chairman, and invitations were sent to all the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe. The German and Austrian Governments put no obstacle in the way; the powerful Russian Socialist Party gave the proposal ardent support; but the American Federation of Labour and the Belgian socialists refused to participate, while the British, French, and Italian Governments refused to issue passports to their respective socialist parties, and it was, therefore, impossible to hold the Conference. The various socialist parties, however, all took the opportunity of sending statements on peace terms to the Dutch-Scandinavian committee, and Branting gave a masterly summary of them.

It was at this stage that the Zimmerwald Commission held a separate meeting at Stockholm, and finally decided on founding the Third or Communist International.

In Great Britain the action of the Government in refusing passports to the selected delegates to the Socialist Conference at Stockholm led to a curious result, for on the 8th August Mr. Arthur Henderson retired from the War Cabinet on this issue, Mr. G. N. Barnes stepping into the warm shoes.

Not unnaturally Henderson's resignation tended to unify the British Labour Party, which passed a vote of confidence in him; and at the Labour Conference held on 21st August, the decision to take part in the Stockholm Conference was reaffirmed: but a proposal by the British Socialist Party that the Labour members should withdraw from the Government met with no success, both Mr. Barnes and Mr. Henderson opposing it.

In December 1917 the British Labour Organisations were active in demanding that the Government should restate its war aims, and at a special conference of all societies affiliated to the T.U.C. and the Labour Party, they decided to put forth their own views. They demanded, *inter alia*:

1. The establishment of a League of Nations.
2. An International High Court.
3. An International Legislature.
4. Compulsory arbitration between nations.
5. The democratisation of all countries.
6. Open diplomacy.
7. Concerted action for the limitation of armaments.
8. Universal abolition of compulsory military service.
9. The restoration of Belgium.
10. The right of Alsace-Lorraine to decide its future political position.
11. European colonies in tropical Africa to be transferred to the League of Nations.

It was a bold statement of war aims, and a wise one. Seven of the eleven points have already been won. All the strength of the entire Labour Movement was behind them, and the loudest cheer at the Conference came when

Mr. Henderson demanded the destruction of "militarism, not only in Germany, but universally."

Meanwhile, in Austria Dr. Adler and the Social Democrats had striven for peace, and received curious assistance from Dr. Adler's son, Friedrich, one of the most amazing figures of modern times. During the course of the war, in despair at the break-up of the Socialist International, he came to the conclusion that he had only to shoot the Austrian Prime Minister, Count Sturgkh, to give the signal for a rising of the working class against the militaristic-minded governors. He shot him on 21st October 1916. In the May of the following year he was sentenced to death. This was commuted to eighteen years' imprisonment, but in the chaos of the autumn of 1918 he was amnestied by the Emperor, and in 1919 elected a Member of Parliament, and became Vice-President of the Austrian Social Democratic Party.

In Germany Hertling replaced Dr. Michaelis as Imperial Chancellor in November 1917, and, being wise, one of his first actions was to make further concessions to the Social Democrats, for their influence was stronger than ever. He first granted the institution of Chambers of Labour, and secondly, the extension of the rights of the Trade Unions to combine for the purpose of political associations.

About the same time the die-hard Junkers, and other members of the opposition founded the "Vaterlandspartei"—a party which was to stand above all parties, and whose aim was to be the pursuing of the war to the bitter end. Some Social Democrats were beguiled into this wolf-like party in patriotic clothing; but the majority of the Social Democrats saw more clearly, and denounced it most bitterly at every possible turn as a thing that would wreck any and every chance for peace that might come.

It is really amazing that Germany carried on the war so long, for it is true to say that millions of Germans, other than those in high positions, followed the Social Democrats in spirit. With the severe winter of 1917—the so-called "swede winter"—war weariness almost paralysed the gaunt, hollow-eyed people. Munition strikes broke out, and the people were only induced to stay at their tasks by great concessions

on the part of the Government in increasing wages. But the war dragged on into 1918, with the Social Democrats still unable to deter the Government from its policy.

The Bolshevik revolution of Russia, of November 1917, had the same result in Germany as it had in France, that of ranging the socialists into two sharply opposing camps. In Germany, however, the mass of the workers looked upon this revolution as the end of tyranny, slavery, war, and injustice. Their state of mind was demonstrated by the munition strikes that broke out spontaneously.

In 1918, however, a fresh fight for peace began. President Wilson of the United States of America had brought forward his Fourteen Points, and a parliamentary fight started in Germany as to whether these Points could be the basis of a peace. The Socialist Democrats felt that here was a golden opportunity, and were prepared for a peace even if they had to give concessions. On the other hand, and these were in the majority, the Government officials and their followers were for war rather than for a disadvantageous peace. Erzberger, still zealous in his fight for peace, led the "peace group," while on the other side Hertling, the Chancellor, although he was satisfied on the whole with the Fourteen Points as a basis for negotiation, took exception to two things: he felt that a peace must satisfy the "rightful claims of Austro-Hungary and the inviolability of Turkey." For the moment, therefore, the opportunity was allowed to go by.

In the spring of 1918, Hertling thought the time had come when it would be distinctly advisable to make further concessions to the socialists, who by now had regained their strong position, despite their divisions. In the first place he sanctioned the raising of the salaries of members of the Reichstag from 3000 marks to 5000 marks, which was a great benefit to many of the Social Democrats, who, having no private incomes of their own, relied on their salary for their bread and butter. Further, which was more important, Hertling agreed to the broadening of the basis of the Reichstag. By this, all rural and municipal constituencies having more than 300,000 electors had more deputies assigned to them,

and Proportional Representation and the *scrutin de liste* methods of election were instituted.

This intended sop whetted the appetite of the Social Democrats, and having regained their pre-war confidence and strength they began to make insistent appeals for further Parliamentary Government. Indeed, they became so confident of success as to bargain with the Ministerialists. They officially stated that there were demands which, if the Government wished for their continued support, had to be met. Their minimum price included certain changes in internal affairs, the restitution of Belgium and of all territories under occupation, and the abandonment of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.

Meanwhile, in September 1918 Bulgaria expressed the wish for an armistice. The Social Democrats, feeling that they held all the cards, and believing their own cause a righteous one, still adopted their former line: the price of their support, they said, was Parliamentarianism.

To Hertling such a position was hopeless, and he had perforce to resign. It is significant, moreover, that his successor, Prince Max of Baden, was made Chancellor by purely parliamentary choice.

Max of Baden rang his official death-knell in one of his first statements. He informed his Government that he did not intend to ask for an armistice, but that he proposed to appeal to President Wilson on certain points. This was fatal, for even Headquarters was demanding of the Government an immediate application for an armistice. To emphasise this the ranks added their voice, and mutinies again broke out at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven.

The Social Democrats now actually threatened the Government, and their threat was given weight by the proclamation which declared Munich to be a Republic.

Max of Baden, like Hollweg, was not going to give up his position without an attempt to stem the tide of opposition. As a last frantic measure he thought of admitting Social Democrats to the Cabinet. The socialists replied they would accept only on the conditions they had previously stated. Prince Max accepted these conditions, and Gustav Bauer,

Scheidemann, and David entered the Cabinet on 3rd October 1918, and proceeded to democratise the constitution. But it was much too late to embark on such measures.

A Republic, with or without violence, was now inevitable, and the Social Democrats on 1st November, headed Scheidemann, promptly urged Prince Max to compel the Emperor to abdicate. Prince Max, however, fought hard to save the Monarchy, first for the Kaiser and, when that became impossible, for some other member of the House of Hohenzollern.

When the decisive day, 9th November, dawned, the Kaiser was still on the throne. Meanwhile, Prince Max had made frantic but futile appeals to the All Highest to forfeit his authority. His appeals were now reinforced by the massing of the Berlin artisans, and by Scheidemann's resignation from the Cabinet. Even soldiers were joining the rioters. The revolution had begun—to end in what? Either with Ebert and a Republic, or Liebknecht and Bolshevism. On the early morning of the 9th, the socialist leaders met in the rooms of the Party Executive, and the unanimous decision was taken that the Kaiser must be deposed as swiftly and as bloodlessly as possible. The military authorities, already forewarned of this, had armed reservist officers in Berlin, brought trusted troops to the capital, and made every effort to repel any movement against the Monarchy. But during the socialist council that morning a deputation from some of the "trustworthy" Jäger regiments had come to ask Otto Wels, one of the socialist leaders, to speak to their various regiments on the political situation. Wels accepted the invitation, and courageously explained the socialist point of view—not a hand was raised against him when he proposed that the soldiers should assist the coming of the People's State by refusing to fire on their fellow-countrymen. A storm of approval greeted his oration, and three thousand were won over to the cause. Within a few hours the whole of the Berlin garrison was on the side of the people, and when the news winged its way from Berlin to Spa, William II. fled, and the Republic was formed.

Meanwhile, Prince Max in despair had announced to the

Reichstag that his master had renounced the throne, although in truth the Emperor did not actually abdicate until 28th November. Prince Max, dallying until the last, had himself perforce to resign with the outbreak of the almost bloodless revolution; but not before he had constitutionally appointed Ebert, the Social Democrat leader, as his successor in the Chancellorship.

But the danger was not yet over. Ebert might easily have been a Lamartine or a Kerensky—a temporary stop-gap to be displaced by more violent extremists—for the Bolshevik minority at once began the attempt to overwhelm the socialists; the masses in the streets grew more clamorous; Liebknecht tried to proclaim a Communist Republic. Scheidemann, acting quickly, forestalled him and proclaimed a German Republic from the buildings of the Reichstag.

There was some questioning of the propriety of Scheidemann's action, notably from Ebert, "whose face turned livid with wrath," and who made a scene which passed Scheidemann's understanding at the time.[1] Later, it was explained that Ebert favoured a constitutional Monarchy on English lines, and had been engaged in negotiations for the placing on the throne of one of the Kaiser's younger sons.

These matters were soon forgotten under the stress of affairs of the moment, and the need of preserving the newborn Republic from the Bolsheviks. But the immediate troubles were overcome with singular sagacity and leadership: the reigning princes of the German States were deposed or abdicated, the Imperial Parliament was dissolved, arrangements were made for summoning a National Assembly, and the Republic was constitutionally established. Scheidemann became its first Prime Minister, only to resign within a short space rather than sign the Treaty of Peace.

The revolution was mainly the work of the Independent Socialists, Ledebour openly boasting that he had been preparing for such an event since 1916. The Independents were aided by money from Russia, who felt, as we have already seen, that communism would be inevitable in an industrial

[1] *Memoirs of a Social Democrat*, by Philip Scheidemann. Translated by J. E. Michell. Hodder & Stoughton, 1929.

country such as Germany. By careful manipulation and with very little street fighting, the Revolutionaries had got command of all the means of transport, and finally announced the capital to be in a state of siege. At this point, in November, the Majority Socialists, as we have seen, felt it was time to interfere. They therefore negotiated successfully with the Independents at a time when the actual revolution was over. Their leavening influence prevented a sequel such as the Communists alone desired.

A Council of Commissioners was accordingly set up as a supreme revolutionary authority on 10th November, consisting of three Social Democrats—Ebert, Scheidemann, and Landsberg—and three Independent Socialists—Haase, Dittmann, and Barth. But—and this is a curious feature in the revolution—all the ministerial officials remained in office and agreed to work provisionally under the new authority. The Council's first duty was to form a new Cabinet, and this it did almost at once, for the country was in a turbulent state under the tyranny of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, who had taken local government into their own hands.

This new Cabinet was again a strange feature, for although it was formed by the "Commissioners"—only one member of it, Warm, was a socialist—the non-socialists were in the majority. However, the socialists were now all-powerful, and their first order gained, with almost a sweep of the pen, some things for which they had spent years of work trying to persuade the Government to grant them. They raised the state of siege, and then proceeded to abolish all restrictions on the right of associations and public meetings; they proclaimed the freedom of the Press; granted an amnesty to all political offenders; passed a Bill protecting private property; made "special provisions" for the agricultural workers; and repealed the regulations which had been imposed on domestic servants for so long. But perhaps their greatest act, besides that of Republicanism, was the grant of the vote to every person who was over twenty.

Meanwhile, in March 1918, the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour International Conference had been held, which drew up a statement of war aims and communicated it to the

socialist parties of the Central Powers. The replies of the latter were received during the summer of 1918, and negotiations were proceeding on these lines when the Armistice came.

In France, during the last few months of the war, the extreme socialists had been growing in influence and numbers, and July 1918 marked the definite triumph of the minority and the Zimmerwaldians. A motion by Jean Longuet at the Annual Congress in that month demanding an international conference was carried by 1544 votes to 1172. Had the Zimmerwaldians not voted for a motion of their own, the figures might have been 1696 to 1172. The minority had become the majority. Jaurès' great party had split asunder. His successor at the head of *L'Humanité*, Renaudel, was now replaced by the more extreme Marcel Cachin. Finally, in February 1919, the National Congress at Paris decided that henceforward members of the party should vote against war credits. The war, of course, was then over!

Thus, in the main, the war had four effects on the socialist movements throughout Europe. First, it caused the socialist parties of nearly every belligerent State to throw overboard their pacific ideals: they became war-socialists. Secondly, in 1915, the various national parties split into two groups —the pro-war and the anti-war. Thirdly, in 1916 and 1917, the socialists generally split further, with the addition of the Zimmerwaldian or Communist sections. Finally, the first two divisions united against the third in the last year of the war; but by that time they had lost a great deal of public sympathy, not only by their war attitude, which alienated pacifists, but also by their subsequent pacifist attitude, which alienated those who had fought.

Perhaps the British Labour Party paid the highest price for its lack of unity, for at the election of November 1918, MacDonald, Ponsonby, Snowden, Trevelyan, and F. W. Jowett all lost their parliamentary seats—MacDonald by 14,000 votes. They were thus the despised and altogether rejected of men.

In the next few years in the wilderness, a more sober and more constitutional socialism was to arise that was to sweep MacDonald and his confrères back—not only to Parliament but to the highest offices in the land.

CHAPTER XII

The Russian Revolution, 1917–1930

THE first of the belligerent nations to break loose from the holocaust of war was Russia. A corrupt and incompetent Court, the Rasputin intrigues, a war-weary soldiery, and internal famine gave cause for the first revolution, which broke out on 11th March 1917, as a result of which the feeble Emperor Nicholas II. abdicated. The Duma set up a provisional Government under Prince George Lvoff, in which Alexander Kerensky, a member of the Social Revolutionary Party in the Duma, who had attained some prominence as an impassioned advocate of root and branch reform, was surprisingly made Minister of Justice. His position, however, was similar to that of Lamartine in the French Revolution of 1848—he was the link between the new Government and the revolutionaries.

The country had lost 1,700,000 killed in the course of the World War. From wounds, ill-health, privations, civil war, and the epidemics that followed, possibly more than treble that number had died. More than this, many of the provinces of Russia, the Ukraine being the first, now took the opportunity to declare themselves independent of St. Petersburg or Moscow, the first break in the fundamental unity of the Russian people since the seventeenth century. The result was that Russia at the end of 1917 had a population of about 130,000,000, compared with the pre-war population of 180,000,000. It is important to bear this fact in mind, when comparative figures of pre-war and post-war Russian trade, etc., are considered.

Like Lamartine, Kerensky had emotional and eloquent words, but also, like Lamartine, had neither strength of purpose nor statesmanlike foresight. After attaining to a unique position at the head of the Russian revolution, he

allowed himself to get enmeshed in a series of contradictory measures, compromises, and renunciations, due to the fact that his supporters included not only Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, but also many middle-class Liberals. By a campaign of eloquent appeals he endeavoured to infuse a new war spirit into the dispirited and war-sick Russian troops; for a moment he succeeded, but only for a moment. Forces and personalities far too strong for him to cope with had been loosed in Russia. In that April the Germans sent into Russia in a sealed truck, like a plague germ or valuable radium, the person of Vladimir Lenin. It was a gambler's throw—they knew his history, his worth, his power; and thus there came upon the Russian stage, the world stage, a person whom the Western World regards as the villain of the piece, and the Bolsheviks worship as the new Messiah. He belonged to an impoverished noble family, his father unimpeachable and his elder brother rebellious. At the age of sixteen he had seen his dearly loved brother executed for treason. Bitterness and iron thenceforward possessed his soul. He became a plotter, dynamic, clear-headed, and fearless. His intellect was capacious, incandescent, and blazed superbly.

From the first, ruthless action against his opponents was his watchword, and the half-hearted Kerenskys were as much his opponents as the supporters of Tsardom.

On 14th July the first revolt of the regiments occurred in Petrograd. It failed; but Trotsky and Lenin, two of the insurgent leaders, escaped punishment, the Government being afraid to strike hard. While Kerensky was weak, Lenin was implacable, and Bolshevik pressure began to grow against the forces of the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. All through these months the effects of the war were becoming more and more acutely felt. Wages rose in the towns, whilst the peasants dispossessed the landowners in the country. The decay of industries proceeded fast.

Prince Lvoff and the Liberals recognised that it was impossible to work with the revolutionaries; he resigned the Premiership, and the Cadets in the Ministry followed him. In August, Kerensky assumed complete control, whilst still

holding the portfolio of War and Marine. In order to construct a strong Revolutionary Government, he called a conference at Moscow of all classes, groups, and institutions in Russia. The Bolsheviks ridiculed the proposal and refused to take part, and the conference was a wordy failure. Bolshevik insurrections of soldiers and workers now occurred in various parts of the country. Trotsky and Lenin were growing ever more popular. Little has hitherto been said of Leon Trotsky, but there is no doubt that the comparative success of the Communist propaganda owed much to his powers of organisation.[1] Like Lenin, he had begun his political career as a member of the Social Democratic Party, had taken part in student disorders, and had been expelled from his university. In 1901, at the age of twenty-four, he was deported to Siberia, but escaped and made his way to Geneva, where he became a prominent member of the Russian socialist group. He took part in the Russian disturbances of 1905, and was again exiled to Siberia and again escaped, this time to Vienna, where he played a prominent part in organising Russian revolutionary organisations. With the outbreak of the World War he was compelled to leave Vienna, and took up his residence at Zurich, where he became one of the organisers of the Zimmerwald Conference. Europe then became too hot to hold him, and after trying to settle in France, Switzerland, and Spain, he sailed, early in 1917, to the United States. Two months later, with the beginning of the Russian revolution, Trotsky immediately started for Russia, but was arrested by the British Government and interned at Halifax. Diplomatic pressure, however, secured

[1] It was about this time that the first distinction began to be made between Communism and Socialism. In the 1840–50 period the words were almost interchangeable (see Mill, *Political Economy*, book ii. chapter i. para. 3), and Marx's *Manifesto to the Communist Party* was an exposition of Socialism. In 1870 the adherents of the Paris Commune, or Town Council, were called Communists, when really they were Municipal Home Rulers. From 1888 to 1916 in England, Communism meant " to each according to his needs," and was interpreted as such by Shaw and the Fabians. In 1916 Lenin chose the name Communist for his party in order to distinguish it from the Social Democratic Parties which were upholding the war.

his release, and in May 1917 he arrived in Russia, where he became one of the most active leaders of the Bolshevik Party in Petrograd. On 8th October, Trotsky was elected President of the Petrograd Soviet, and a few weeks later took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

In October 1917 the Congress of Soviets under Trotsky and Lenin formed a Military Revolutionary Committee, and the Kerensky Government was overwhelmed a fortnight later in the second Russian revolution of 1917. It fell, as Tsardom had fallen, from lack of backbone, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics came into being.

The Bolshevik Government, the first Communist Government the world had seen,[1] with Lenin as its Jupiter and Trotsky as its Mars, at once proceeded with energy against its former opponents, and to realise the hopes of Marx's Communist Manifesto. The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were denounced as " social traitors " guilty of the sin of repudiating Marx and of collaborating with the bourgeoisie. Not unnaturally they retorted with accusations of " tyranny." Private property in land was abolished, with the reservation that the land of the Cossacks and peasants was not to be confiscated. Industries were nationalised. Proposals were addressed to all the belligerent States to conclude peace, and an armistice was signed with Germany in December 1917.

In the elections of November and December the Social Revolutionaries secured a large majority, while the Bolsheviks came next. The Mensheviks and the Cadets were represented by a mere handful—the latter having only 15 members out of 600. Naturally such results did not please the Bolsheviks, and the Assembly was dissolved. A reign of terror followed. According to some estimates, over a million people lost their lives in the ensuing " pitiless suppression," as Lenin called it.[2]

From this date onwards the Social Democratic Labour Party and the Social Revolutionary Party became illegal organisations. None the less, both of them began to obtain

[1] The local and ephemeral experiments of 1848 and 1871 will not, of course, bear comparison with this.

[2] See Professor Hearnshaw's and Professor Sarolea's works on *Socialism* and *Impressions of Soviet Russia*.

a steady increase of their influence and membership. Their endeavour, now as then, is to secure democratic liberty, the removal of Communist privileges, freedom for the Trade Union and Co-operative movements, and at the same time to counter Fascist and Allied capitalist attempts to overthrow the Communist regime.

Efforts were now made by the Bolsheviks to negotiate a definite peace with Germany. The German terms were the cession of Poland and Courland, the recognition of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and the Ukraine as independent States, and the payment of an indemnity of 300,000,000 roubles. The Bolsheviks accepted them, and the peace of Brest-Litovsk was signed in March 1918. Russia was satisfied with peace at any price.

The Bolshevik sway spread like a forest fire, fierce and elemental, in spite of Socialist, Liberal, and clerical opposition. Marx had sowed the seed: Lenin reaped the first-fruits. Intellectually clear-headed, with an unusual grasp of reality, full of fiery energy, he was the perfect type of a revolutionary leader. During the years 1915–20 a great pamphleteering controversy proceeded between Lenin and Karl Kautsky. Both invoked Marx with almost theological reverence to justify their theories, while from the democratic revolution of March 1917 onwards Lenin applied the Marxian thesis to Russia with merciless logic.

Meanwhile, the Allies had begun a policy of double diplomacy with Russia. While their official representative remained at the Russian capital, special emissaries, of whom Arthur Henderson represented England and Albert Thomas, France, were dispatched to Petrograd in 1917, with the object of turning the revolution into warlike courses against the Central Empires. The result of this somewhat unusual diplomacy was that Albert Thomas became a convinced and ardent supporter of Kerensky, while Henderson, convinced of the urgent need of peace, favoured the projected meeting of socialist delegates in Stockholm. The advent of the Bolsheviks to power decided the Allies to break off all official relations in the summer of 1918, and a period of active hostility to the Communist State followed. The "White" forces

received military supplies and even man power. Disruption was fostered. Japanese, American, British, and French detachments were landed at Vladivostok; other British forces were landed at Archangel, monetary assistance was given to General Denekin, and every effort was made to secure the overthrow of the Bolshevik Government. Over £19,000,000 of British money was squandered in this way.

But the Bolshevik regime was possessed of extraordinary stability and virility, and although the Allies could boast a few local successes, these were countered by serious reverses. By November 1919, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, had come to the conclusion that Russia was unbeatable, and decided to leave her to her fate. The unforeseen and unexpected stability of Bolshevik Russia was due to three main causes: the first was the popularity of the new Bolshevik Government among the soldiers and workers; the second was the not surprising hatred of foreign invasion and aggression; and the third, and perhaps the chief of all, was the forceful ability of the Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. In this Government Trotsky, the organiser and Commander-in-Chief of the Red Armies, who introduced an iron discipline that paved the way to victory over the White and Allied Armies, represented the extreme left wing, and often opposed the more moderate programme of Lenin.

These two names are the most prominent in the history of Communist Russia; but it must not be forgotten that Dzerjinsky, who organised the notorious Cheka or secret police, Zinovieff, and Bukharin were prominent among the leaders of the Communist Party.

The Bolsheviks looked upon their revolution of 1917 as a prelude to a grand sequence of revolutions, as a torch that would cause a purifying blaze throughout every industrial country. Like sick men whose ills had been alleviated, if not cured, by drastic treatment, they expected others to endure the same agony, regardless of whether they hap the same need for it or not. And certainly for a year or two their hopes had justification. In France the majority of the Socialist Party went over to Communism; Italian socialism

split into Communist, semi-Communist, and anti-Communist groups. By 1920 the strength of the Communist Parties in various European countries was reckoned by the Bolsheviks to be as follows :

Germany	360,000
Czecho-Slovakia	360,000
France	130,000
Norway	97,000
Italy	70,000
Sweden	15,000
England	10,000 [1]

But 1920, with its total of over a million, represented the high-water mark, and from that year onward there was a steady decline on the average in each of the countries mentioned. The French socialist majority secured the electoral upper hand over the Communists; Italian parties were all driven underground by Fascism; and in other countries revolutionary ideals paled before the rising star of constitutional socialism.

The Communists still hold the theory that world revolution must be achieved, and their consequent incitement of "native races" and other peoples goes far to explain the unceasing hatred of Bolshevism in many quarters. Another cause of real hatred is the Bolsheviks' determination to have no State religion.

Meanwhile, the U.S.S.R. was meeting tremendous difficulties. An order had been made compelling peasants to retain only that proportion of their produce which they needed for subsistence, the remainder to be handed over to the State in return for the other commodities of which they were in need. Private trading was suppressed—a suppression rendered effective by the collapse of the monetary system. But difficulty was found in effecting exchanges on these lines, and in these circumstances the peasant produced just sufficient for his own needs, which, combined with bad harvests, led to a famine. Lenin then sought to secure the dictatorship of Communism by making concessions to capitalism, where

[1] Figures extracted from Soviet papers by *Justice*.

absolutely imperative, in his New Economic Policy of 1921. To encourage the peasants in production a tax was imposed in place of the forfeiture of his surplus, and they were given the right to any residue. Meanwhile, the collapse of the rouble was remedied by the introduction of a new gold unit, the tchernovetz.

Under Lenin's guidance, Russia also embarked upon a new foreign policy, which brought Russia out of her grand attitude of isolation to one of natural civilities and relationships. Russia first made overtures to Britain, and the result was the Trade Agreement of 1921. Her next opportunity came with the Genoa Conference of 1922, when she came to terms with Germany.

With the Labour Party in power in 1924 in Great Britain, Russia came into much closer touch with England, which undoubtedly was essentially advantageous to both lands, for these are complementary countries rather than rivals. Within a fortnight of Ramsay MacDonald's taking office—by 1st February—full diplomatic relations were restored, chargés d'affaires were appointed and ambassadors proposed, while suggestions were made for the drawing up of a treaty to supersede that of 1921.

There were difficulties, however, on both sides. The Socialist Government in Britain was in a parliamentary minority of two to one, and not only had they found relationships with Russia estranged on assuming office, but in England, and especially in the City, the majority of people were anti-Russian. Was not the Soviet the new Government that had "promulgated decrees of the repudiation of debts and of nationalisation of property"—the country that recognised no arbitral authority? A deadlock seemed inevitable when it was known that Russia would not admit any obligation of debt unless a loan was forthcoming. Arrangements were being made by the British Government to advance a loan of £30,000,000, when the General Election of October 1924, fought on the fear of a Communist revolution in this country, resulted in a Conservative victory and a complete reversal of British policy by the succeeding Conservative Government.

The effect was an estrangement between Britain and

Russia, as a result of which Anglo-Russian trade declined considerably, whilst Russo-German trade flourished.

Meanwhile, great changes had taken place in Russia. The celebrated dual regime of Lenin and Trotsky came to an end in 1924 with the death of Lenin. He was buried near the Kremlin, and for years his crimson tomb has been the pilgrimage place of multitudes of peasants. Under Lenin, Russia had acquired once again her place as the most hated nation of modern Europe; but even while men deplored her political ideas, and denounced her leaders and methods, they had to admit that "impossible" doctrines had been put into operation and were working to a certain extent. Lenin will probably rank with Cromwell and Napoleon in world history as the militant leader of a new idea. More than that, he was a prolific writer and propagandist. His published works, mainly propagandist and tactical, run to over thirty volumes.[1] Perhaps the most important of these is his *The State and the Revolution* (1917), in which the Communist doctrines are forcibly and clearly developed. Communism, according to Lenin, is the achievement of all socialist ideals by revolutionary actions leading to "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and the proletarian state. Existing states and parliaments, of which orthodox socialists approve, he regards as purely capitalist institutions which must be forcibly overthrown before the socialist revolution can ever begin. Hence, orthodox socialists who seek to perpetuate parliamentary institutions are regarded as the worst enemies of the workers and are denounced with fire and brimstone.

With the death of Lenin, there began in Russia an anti-Leninist movement, and a determined attempt was made to supplant those who had been his accomplices. Trotsky was deprived of his command of the army and navy, Dzerjinsky died in July 1926, Zinovieff was dismissed, and one by one the other leaders were supplanted. The leader of this new movement was the elusive forty-five-year-old "Stalin," or "Josif Vissiaronoff Djugashvili," a peasant who had become a bookkeeper, and whose first official post with the Bolshevists was in 1912, when he was appointed a member of

[1] See the *Collected Works of V. I. Lenin*, by Martin Lawrence.

the Party Bureau at a salary of fifty roubles a month. He was a hard, ambitious revolutionist, who had suffered imprisonment and exile several times before the revolution.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how young the Bolshevist leaders were at the time of the November 1917 revolution. Stalin was then only thirty-seven and Trotsky thirty-nine. Zinovieff, Kameneff, and Karachan were thirty-four, Radel still younger. Litvinoff was just forty, and Lenin himself was only forty-seven.

Even while Lenin was lying ill, Trotsky, his comrade, accomplice, and nominee for the succession, was beaten by the plots of the Stalin group. Stalin had been elected general secretary of the party in 1921. At that time the post was almost wholly a technical one, but even then Lenin was opposed to Stalin's candidature. He was "a cook who would prepare peppery dishes." With Lenin ill, Stalin took on the central direction of the Politbureau. The other members of the central committee were busier and weaker. By the time Lenin had recovered, Stalin and his friends were entrenched. Lenin fell ill again. In his last will and testament, written on 4th January 1923, he again advised that Stalin should be removed, because of his "secrecy" and "abuse of power." But Stalin, Kameneff, Zinovieff, and all other members of the Politbureau combined to oust Trotsky. Finally, in 1928, Trotsky was exiled and a general purge made of his adherents.

Stalin's victory was at first regarded as the victory of the most moderate, conservative, bureaucratic, and nationalist tendencies, the victory of the partisan of private property over the principles of world revolution and Marxism. Even Trotsky regarded it as such,[1] but Stalin emphatically announced his intention to continue Trotsky's policy of unrelenting war against capitalism and imperialism, and in this he was vigorously assisted by Bukharin, who had become Chief of the Secret Police.

Difficulties had now arisen with the peasants, who were disinclined to produce grain for export owing to the low payments offered. In January 1928, Stalin had declared

[1] See *Memoirs of Trotsky*.

that the deficiency amounted to 2,000,000 tons, and even the most energetic measures only reduced this deficit to 1,600,000 tons by the following March.

Before many months had gone by, Stalin's position was seriously challenged. In spite of his threat that all who did not toe the party line would be treated like Trotsky and his Opposition of the Left, the leaders of the " Right " Opposition, Bukharin, Rykoff, the Soviet Premier or President of the Council of Commissars, and Tomsky, the Chief of the Red Trade Unions (or the " Troika " [1] as they were nicknamed), united to warn Russia against the nationalisation of the land, which was part of Stalin's policy. For two whole months Stalin was in the minority in the Politbureau. The party machine saved him. Stalin seemed to draw fresh power even from the struggle. He throttled his opponents by placing them in high positions while strangling their real influence.

At the same time there was evolved the famous " Five-Year Plan " for the development of the productive forces of the Soviet Union during the period 1928–33. The ideal was that of attaining and surpassing the economic level of advanced capitalist countries and thus assuring the triumph of the Communist economic system. The pre-war level of production had already been reached in 1926, and in the following year the pre-war economic level was surpassed. During 1928, 1929, and 1930 the Plan was vigorously carried out, and Russia, hitherto primarily an agricultural country, is rapidly becoming primarily industrial. The gross output of all industries during this period, 1926–30, was as follows :

	In Milliard Roubles (1926–27 values).			
	1926–27.	1927–28.	1928–29.	(est.) 1929–30.
Socialised (State and Co-op.) . . .	11,999	15,389	18,903	24,740
Private	4,043	3,704	3,389	3,310
Total . .	16,042	19,093	22,292	28,050

At the end of 1929, Rykoff, Bukharin, and Tomsky adopted the white sheet of public repentance with a " verbal

[1] Derived from the Russian carriage drawn by three horses abreast.

capitulation," and Stalin once again became supreme. Their formal recantation coincided with the increased activities of the O.G.P.U. (the Terrorist Secret Police), which may explain Stalin's victory in the first round, but even Stalin realised that "the surrender was theoretical only." The "Right" Opposition, having learned that open warfare would result in "drastic measures," adopted new tactics, and the formal recantation was possibly part of these tactics. Be that as it may, Stalin's position at the sixteenth Communist Congress, held in July 1930, was stronger than ever, and the criticisms were not against his policy, but against the "right deviationism" of "the Troika."

The main points at issue were Stalin's agrarian policy, which was directed against the successful peasants, his trade policy directed against all forms of private enterprise, and his "Communist International." The "Right" Opposition urged the pacification of the peasantry as a means towards larger output, which would enable the Soviets to renew grain exports; more liberty of private trading in order to relieve the pressure on State trading with all its subsequent evils; and the "modification" of the Communist International as a way out of international, political, and economical difficulties.

Stalin's policy is to drive ruthlessly onwards towards ever-extending Communism. This policy was expressed in the attempt to substitute collective for individual farming through the extension of State farms for individual holdings. It involved the persecution of the wealthier peasants, and aroused fears of a return to serfdom. There were many executions of recalcitrants, but the chief Russian cities were still rationed when 1929 ended. Such rigours demand strong nerves, and Stalin will need them and all his amazing cleverness to meet the rising strength of young Russia, which is even more ultra-theoretical and greedy for power than Stalin himself.

We must remember that Russia was uneconomically run before the war, and that the Communists took over a more or less bankrupt country. The principles they are applying to it would strike the most fervent capitalist as being thoroughly sound. They have not only reached the point

of being able to balance their budget, but they are spending less than they are creating, and they are devoting the greater part of that surplus for reinvestment in plant.

Whilst machinery and mass production on the American model are the essentials of the religion of the new Russia, the national resources of the country have hardly yet been scratched, and Russia is bound to become one of the greatest producers of the world. It is worth noting, in passing, that the output of Russian industry was doubled between 1925 and 1929, and is now three times the highest pre-war totals.

It is difficult, at this stage, to assess the effects of the Communist Revolution. No account of Bolshevist Russia is received in this country that can be accounted strictly impartial: most are distorted by passion. True it is that Russia is feared and hated from Samarkhand to San Francisco: no Government of modern times has endured such opprobrium, such bitterness, such opposition. Yet in spite of all the revolution has endured, and, as Lenin predicted, no room has been found in the new State for monarch, aristocrats, or idlers. Whether the Russian worker and peasant is happier, more cultured, and more free than his predecessor is a question that cannot be answered here, but it may be admitted that in education, in sanatoria, and in industrial strength the Russia of to-day is immeasurably ahead of pre-war Russia.

CHAPTER XIII

Semi-Socialist European States, 1919–1930—Austria, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, and Belgium

IN the decade following the Great War, eight European countries have had socialist ministries, or coalition ministries in which socialists have had a determining influence, namely, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Great Britain—the last of which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

Possibly the most interesting of these socialist ministries was that of Austria, during the years 1919 and 1920, when the Social Democrats, in coalition with other parties, formulated and passed many collective measures of great importance.

During the Great War the socialist parties in Austria supported the actions of the Austrian Government, and when the break-up of the " Ramshackle Empire " came towards the end of 1918, it was the various national parties that took the lead, the socialist parties acting with their co-nationals. The German members of the former Austrian Reichsrat, for instance, in October 1918, established themselves as the Provisional National Assembly of " German Austria," adopted a republican constitution on 30th October, and created the new Austrian Republic in November. The new constitution created an extreme type of democratic parliamentary government—the supreme power being conferred upon a single Chamber, the National Assembly, and the executive power being exercised by a Council of State, elected by proportional representation from among the members of the three parliamentary parties—the Christian Socialists, Social Democrats, and German Nationalists. Each of the three parties elected a president to act as Speaker of Parliament, and each functioned for a week in turn. Although in this new State the

three great political parties assumed a common share in the responsibilities of governing, the power passed from the outset almost entirely into the hands of the Social Democrats, mainly owing to the fact that the bourgeois parties realised that the Social Democrats were the best bulwark against revolution or reaction. The Social Democrats lived up to their great task, and skilfully piloted the young Republic through its early vicissitudes.

The main task of this Provisional National Assembly was to prepare the way for a properly elected Constituent Assembly, and with this intention an electoral law was passed dividing "German-Austria" into 38 parliamentary divisions, returning 225 members on universal suffrage of persons over twenty. Actually, however, only 159 members were returned in March 1919, since the elections for the Czecho-Slovakian, Italian, and Jugo-Slav territories could not be held. Of these 159, 69 were Social Democrats, 63 Christian Socialists, and 26 German Nationalists. A Coalition was promptly formed by the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists, who represented the peasants and the lower middle-class elements.

The Constituent Assembly immediately proceeded to abolish the Council of State, and the executive power was invested in a Cabinet elected indirectly by a National Assembly.

In the new Cabinet, elected in March 1919, the Social Democrats filled the most important offices under Dr. Karl Renner (1870–1929), the son of a peasant, who had been a parliamentary deputy since 1907, State Chancellor of the new Republic from its inception, and had taken Victor Adler's place as Chairman of the Social Democratic Party on the latter's death on 12th November 1918. The problems he and his colleagues had to face were terrific. The Allies' punishment of Austria was even more severe than that meted out to Germany: Austrian territory was reduced to a quarter, unprecedented economic burdens and restrictions were placed upon her, and famine and misery added their quota to the terrible aftermath of war. Renner signed the Peace Treaty and openly announced his intention of abiding by it loyally and of adhering to the policy of the League of Nations.

In the early part of 1919, a tremendous stride forward was made, and many laws of a socialist nature were passed. The nobility were abolished, the dynasty of Hapsburg set aside, and the Republican form of Government made lastingly secure. Socialist legislation included the enactment of the eight-hours working day, new rules for work done at home and by children, prohibition of night work in bakeries, compulsory holidays for workers, improvement in the conditions of domestic workers, and legal regulation of collective bargains. One of the most remarkable Acts was passed at the time when conditions were at their worst. After the war the numbers of the unemployed had risen very rapidly. In December 1918, the total figure was 46,000. In the following February it was 162,000, and on 1st May 1919, 186,000. The Socialist Government now introduced an Act compelling all employers employing more than fifteen hands on 26th April of that year to employ extra workers up to one-fifth of their establishment, and if a man were discharged or left, he must be replaced by a new man. The result was remarkable. On 1st August 1919, there were 133,000 persons unemployed, and the number decreased to 87,000 on 2nd November, and to 46,000 by the end of April 1920. The Act was only intended to remain in force for a short time, but under the circumstances it was continually renewed until early in 1921.

Naturally, the Socialist Government was desirous of establishing the Socialist State, and towards this end a number of laws were passed tending towards the nationalisation or municipalisation of private enterprises. On 14th March 1919, it was enacted that the State, the Territories, or the Communes should have the right to acquire or sequestrate "on the grounds of public utility" suitable industrial concerns, which could then be administered by either of these three forms of authority. The Government then instituted a Government Commission on Nationalisation to collect evidence, inspect factories, accounts, etc. On 15th May 1919, a law was passed setting up industrial councils, which was also meant to further the process of nationalisation, for the workmen, by this means, were given an insight into the management

of their various industries. In public companies the workers could, under this Act, claim two seats on the Board of Directors, though they had not the full authority of the other directors. On 30th May, a fortnight later, another enactment laid down the procedure and general lines to be followed in cases of expropriation of industrial concerns. By this Act the process of expropriation had to be initiated by Government resolution; legal procedure then followed, and finally indemnification. About this latter a lively discussion raged, because the provisions for indemnification were very vague.

The next step was the founding of a series of industrial institutions on socialist lines, but further socialistic development was checked by a change in the political situation. The economic condition of Austria, however, had improved during the period when the Social Democrats were in power; labour unrest had considerably diminished, and favourable progress was recorded in many branches of industry.

A serious division now occurred in Renner's Coalition between the two parties composing it. The Christian Socialists favoured a sympathetic attitude to the rival State of Hungary; the Social Democrats leant towards closer co-operation with Czecho-Slovakia. The split came in June 1920, and the Renner Government fell. The place of the Renner Cabinet was taken by delegates representing every party pending the elections. The elections in October 1920 reduced the Social Democratic representation from 69 to 66, and increased that of the Christian Socialists from 63 to 82, while the German Party obtained 19 seats, the German-Austrian Peasants Party 7, and the new Bourgeois Labour Party 1. The new Cabinet was composed of Christian Socialists, with the German Party acting as benevolent neutrals and the Social Democrats definitely in opposition. The Social Democrats had certainly lost many votes and three seats, but so far they had preserved the unity of the party; and in the February of 1921, at the Social Democratic Conference at Vienna, there were representatives of all shades of socialist opinions, from the Zimmerwaldians to the International Labour Association of Socialist Parties.

The economic position of Austria now grew worse and worse. At the end of March 1921, the financial regeneration of Austria was handed over to the League of Nations. In spite of the Christian Socialists' desire for co-operation with Hungary, they could not bring about any betterment of relations, and the Government was only saved in May 1921 by all parties assuring their support in the economic and financial measures desired by the League.

During the next six years, ministry followed ministry in quick succession, the socialists continuing in opposition—the elections of 1923 making but small change in the parties' figures. The elections of April 1927, however, showed a different result. For this election the Christian Socialists and Pan-Germans, as Government Coalition Parties, stood for election in a united list. The result of the elections, as compared with the 1923 election, was as follows :

	1923.	1927.
Social Democrats . . .	68	71
Christian Socialists . . .	82	73
German Nationalist . .	10	12
Peasant Party . . .	5	9
	165	165

Just prior to the 1927 elections the Social Democrats reformulated their theoretical basis in view of the post-war situation. The most important addition, due to the necessity of spreading socialist propaganda in increasing extent throughout the country districts, was the agricultural programme, which was unanimously adopted at the annual congress at Vienna (November 1925). The annual congress at Linz (November 1926) adopted the general programme of the Party, to which the agricultural programme was added as one of its items.

After the 1927 elections, Dr. Seipel brought the Peasant Party into the Christian Socialist (Conservative)–German Nationalist Coalition, and a new Cabinet was formed, with Dr Seipel as Chancellor for the fifth time. The new Government's decision to revise their "Rent Restriction Act" aroused the fiercest opposition from the Social

Democrats, and there began those riots between irregular Fascist and Socialist forces that were to continue for several years. During the summers of 1927 and 1929 clashes were frequent and fierce. In the autumn of the latter year it was feared that the Heimwehr (Fascist) leaders were about to abandon the idea of obtaining, by ordinary parliamentary means, the new, less democratic Constitution they desired, and that they intended to impose their reforms on the country by force. Fortunately, this hazardous course was not followed, and a compromise, reached after weeks of negotiation, averted any danger of a resort to violence. A Bill for the reform of the Constitution on the lines of the agreed compromise was passed by Parliament early in December 1929.

Equally interesting in Austrian socialist politics, however, is the socialist development of the municipality of Vienna, which is not only a town but also a province. Here in 1919, after the revolution, the socialists obtained a majority in the municipal council; and in the succeeding decade, under the brilliant leadership of Herr Robert Danneberg, the President of the Vienna Diet, tremendous strides were made in municipal socialism. The government of the City of Vienna is somewhat on the lines of a British County Borough, combined with the German system of a semi-professional Burgomaster or Mayor and semi-professional administrative Aldermen. The record of municipal work is amazing, but it must not be forgotten that the city has much wider powers in finance and legislation than an English borough. Rates, for instance, have been practically abolished, and a new and broader system of local taxation has been introduced, which includes an entertainment tax yielding nearly £500,000 per annum, while taxes on restaurant and hotel bills produce close on another half million. The beer duty is expected to yield £300,000, and the motor-car tax on private cars, £111,500. The servant tax, stiffly graduated in relation to the number of servants employed and not imposed in cases where one person only is employed, was expected to yield in 1928 about £73,000. The welfare tax, on sums expended for wages and salaries, imposed at a time of great distress in order to maintain

the welfare activities of the municipality, produces about £2,000,000 per annum. The poster and advertisement taxes produce a further £160,000 per annum, and the fire brigade tax, on persons insured against fire, is expected to yield £88,000. The water-power tax is a temporary charge upon consumers of gas and electric current for the purposes of developing the water supply (as credit had been reduced); it is estimated to yield £110,000. The land tax imposed in the first years of the socialist administration is no longer in force, because the drastic rent restrictions prevented the development of new property; but the increment value duty has become extremely important, and is payable by the vendor on conveyances of land, the municipality sharing in the increment value. The yield for 1928 is expected to be £191,000.

The graduated house duty—very modest in the case of small properties, but fairly high on the properties of the well-to-do—produces just over £1,000,000, and is used for housing development instead of raising expensive loans.

Naturally there was opposition to these socialist taxes on the part of the well-to-do, and there were great efforts at evasion, but the socialist municipality has taken vigorous steps to secure the proper payment.

In addition to its own, the municipality receives a certain propotion of the national and federal taxes collected in its area. In 1928 Vienna received from this source £3,400,000.

The total income for the city budget for 1928 is estimated at £13,040,000; but in spite of great municipal development brought about by municipal socialism, and the terrific economic problems which faced Austria after the war, the local taxation of Vienna is now no higher than it was in 1913.

In a number of ways the municipality has assisted Viennese industry. For example, it has made guarantees in respect of exports to Russia, it has granted credit facilities to Vienna's industrial undertakings, and has established its own savings' bank, which makes loans to industry at a cheaper rate than the private banks.

Great concessions have been made to municipal employees in the way of pensions and in the establishment of a special loan bank.

It is noteworthy that, apart from an eight-day tramway strike, not a single dispute during the ten years of socialist administration has led to a stoppage of work worth mentioning.

Splendid social welfare work has also been accomplished on the lines of the work done by British Labour municipalities. Maternity and child welfare activities are considerable, and the public health department campaign against death and disease, which was badly needed in Vienna, is vigorous and effective. So successful has socialist Vienna been, that the 1913 death-rate from tuberculosis of 30 for every 10,000 inhabitants was reduced in the year 1926 to 20.

In education, bold and imaginative development has taken place. In the last pre-war year the average number of children in a class was 47, whereas it is now 29. Schools have been reorganised, including considerable changes in the curriculum and time-table. Throughout Austria continuation schools are compulsory for apprentices. Excluding the cost of trade continuation schools, educational expenditure amounts to £15, 10s. for each child, or twice as much as in 1913—the municipality paying 45 per cent. of the cost.

In housing, wonderful work has been done. The municipality has built thirty thousand houses in the five years 1924–29, so that Vienna is beating the great London County Council with its population of 4,500,000. Many of these, of course, are block dwellings; but Vienna has taught the world a great deal in making block dwellings a fine architectural achievement. Small wonder that every third person in Vienna is a member of the Social Democratic Party, and that 60 per cent. of the electorate voted socialist in 1927.

In addition to the main Viennese Socialist Party, there still exists a Czech minority, which has certainly diminished in numbers since the birth of the neighbouring Czech-Slovak Republic, but which still has an effective organisation known as the Czecho-Slovakian Social Democratic Labour Party, which for decades past has worked hand in hand with the German socialists in Austria. The party itself has existed for over fifty years, and its paper, *Delnicke Listy*, for thirty-nine years.

In all political questions the Czech socialists in Austria consistently act in close accord with the German working-class of Austria.

GERMANY

Germany has been almost as interesting from the socialist point of view as Austria, for whilst Austria had a Socialist Government only for two years, the Social Democratic Party of Germany has taken part in the government of Germany for a considerable period.

The history of Germany since the Great War may be summed up in the formation of the Republic, a struggle for economic recovery, and the multiplication of political parties.

The first step was the abdication of the German Emperor on 9th November 1918, and the formation of a Republic. This amazing change from a semi-absolute Monarchy to a Republican Democracy was accomplished with the loss of less than two dozen lives, though doubtless the two million dead whom Germany had sacrificed uselessly on the battlefields of Europe at the behest of their previous war leaders had more than made Germany ready for such a change.

The state of parties in the German Parliament at this date was approximately that of 1912, and at the dissolution in December 1918 the Majority Socialists held 85 seats and the Independent Socialists 24, in a house of 397 members. The socialists were thus in a minority of 109 to 288.

The first elections of the Republican National Assembly, for which all Germans over twenty years of age voted, were held in the January of 1919. Out of a total of 421 seats, the Majority Socialists secured 163, and the Independent Socialists 21. Other parties, who had meanwhile changed their names, were represented as follows :

Christian People's Party (Catholic Centre)	88
Democratic Party (Radicals)	75
German National People's Party (Conservatives)	42
German People's Party (National Liberals)	21
Minor Parties	11
	421

In the following month the first President of the new Republic was elected—Herr Friedrich Ebert, the veteran socialist leader, who held the post for six years, until his death in 1925.

The next step was to formulate the Republican constitution, and at Weimar in February 1919 a constitution was hammered out, under the leadership of the socialists, that, in spite of defects due to the difficult conditions of domestic politics at the time, is one of the most democratic and progressive in the world. It provided the machinery by which the bulk of the German people could establish a socialist State by constitutional and democratic means.

The first Government under the new constitution, formed by Gustav Bauer, the former president of the General Committee of German Trade Unions, in June 1919, consisted of six socialists and four Catholics, and was increased in the October by the inclusion of three Democrats. Similar proportions were maintained until June 1920, when a bourgeois coalition was formed, and in succeeding ministries socialists bobbed in and out, as the parliamentary situation demanded. This policy of combination with the other parties, however necessary it may have been in 1918 and 1919 and when the Republic was formed, was definitely contrary to the welfare of the party in succeeding years. By accepting office as a Minority Government or in a Coalition, they were in a false position—their policy had to be whittled down to suit their temporary allies and erstwhile enemies. Yet under the new constitution the socialists went ahead, in spite of divergences of opinion within their ranks. All restrictions on speech and assembly were removed, an eight-hour day had already been introduced, and several financial reforms were carried out. Between September 1919 and March 1920 an entirely new system of taxation was introduced. There were three new taxes on income: the first a unified graduated tax on incomes of 24,000 marks or over; the second was a capital levy of 10 per cent. on all income from dividends, interest, or rent; and the third was a tax of 10 per cent. on the dutiable income of a company, plus an additional impost on the distributed profits of the company where these

exceed 3 per cent. of the capital. Thus income from shares was taxed under the three forms.

New charges on property were also imposed in three forms. The first was a war tax on property increase, varying from 10 to 98 per cent., according as the property had increased in value by 10,000 or 10,000,000 marks; then individual or company property was taxed 10 per cent. of its value, excepting property of less value than 5000 marks; the third was an inheritance duty—a considerable extension of the former inheritance and gift taxes—which varied from 4 per cent. on the first 20,000 marks to 70 per cent. on amounts of well over a million marks.

These burdens may be measured by the fact that in 1920 an individual receiving an income of 1,000,000 marks, of which 400,000 were from shares and the rest from landed property, would pay over 810,000 marks in taxation.

Even these terrific efforts, supplemented by great increases of indirect and transport taxation, were not sufficient to balance the German budget, and from 31st March 1919 to 31st March 1921 the German national debt increased from 156 milliards of marks to nearly 250 milliards. Part of this was due to the price the Reich had paid for taking over the railways on 1st April 1920. To this enormous burden the Allies added, in May 1921, a further 132 milliards of gold marks, to be paid over a series of years.

The years immediately following the Armistice showed, however, a revival of Nationalism and reaction in Germany—mainly due to the onerous conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, the resultant occupation of the Ruhr, and the destruction of German money values. It seemed as if only a miracle could preserve democratic government and prevent a revolution.

It was a time especially disappointing for the Trade Unionists. The eight-hour day, the Work Councils, and the Social Commission for which they had agitated, had been granted—the first by a decree in November 1918, and the others were part of the new constitution—but in practice they were modified (in December 1923), for hours could be lengthened by collective arrangement. The Social Democratic Cabinet did little else, while the Social Commission, set

up to investigate the possibilities of public control of industries, only recommended the Government control of an odd assortment of commodities, such as coal, potash, wax, sulphur, and electricity.

The succeeding general election in May 1924 showed a significant decrease in the Social Democratic vote, despite the fact that they and the Independent Socialists amalgamated in 1922. On the other hand the Communist vote increased.

From 1924 to 1928 the socialists changed their policy. Instead of bobbing in and out of bourgeois ministries they formed a strong opposition and thus ensured a peaceful foreign policy, for they stood for International Peace and the creation of a United States of Europe. The elections to the Reichstag of May and December 1924, 1928, and 1930 gave the following returns :

	1924.		1928.	1930.
	May.	Dec.		
Socialists	100	131	152	143
Catholic Centre	65	69	61	86
German National People's Party	95	103	79	41
German People's Party	45	51	45	29
Democrats	28	32	25	20
Bavarian People's Party	16	19	17	19
Communists	62	45	54	76
Minor parties	32	43	51	76
Fascists	...	...	12	107
	443	493	506	597

After the 1928 elections, the Social Democrats, as the strongest party, attempted to form a Great Coalition of all parties except the Communists and the Nationalists. Finally such a coalition was formed, but without obligation on the component groups. In this new coalition the Social Democrats provided the Chancellor in the person of Herman Müller, and three other ministers, while the German People's Party and the Democrats suppled three each, and the Centre Party one. This coalition, however, lasted but a few months, and was replaced by a coalition of the moderate bourgeois parties. In the elections of September 1930 the Social Democrats suffered a net loss of nine seats. The most surprising change was the increase in the Fascist (National Socialist) representa-

tion from 12 to 107, while the Communists and Catholics also materially increased their numbers. The Social Democratic vote dropped from 9,146,000 to 8,572,000, whereas the Fascist vote increased from 809,500 to 6,401,000. In the welter and confusion of a score of political parties, parliamentary government appears to be upon its trial, and there are fears that Fascist (National Socialist) desire to substitute a dictatorship for the present system will attract more and more adherents. They are anti-Marxian socialists, fiercely anti-Semitic and patriotic.

In policy, the socialists of Germany now follow the resolutions laid down by the Heidelberg Conference of 1925, the Kiel Conference of 1927, and the Magdeburg Conference of May 1929. They are staunch supporters of the Republic, of democracy in government, and of civic equality, and advocate decentralisation and the extension of municipalisation. They wish to see still more protective legislation for the workers, direct and productive taxation, the abolition of the tariff, and the creation of commercial treaties in its place; above all, they wish for nationalisation. In foreign affairs they desire peace and advocate disarmament, while they are both anti-Imperialist and anti-Fascist.

SWEDEN

In an earlier chapter we have seen how the Swedish Social Democratic Party, formed in 1889, was gradually obtaining more and more seats in both the Upper and Lower Houses, which sit together for legislative purposes. This rate of progress was accentuated in 1917, when the Conservative Government, which had rapidly been losing public confidence, lost several seats in the autumn elections. In the result the Conservatives resigned, and the Liberal leader, Professor Nils Edén, formed a ministry with Social Democratic support, which consisted of seven Liberals and four Social Democrats, among whom was the veteran Hjalmar Branting as Minister of Finance. Branting, however, soon resigned, ostensibly on account of illness; but party divisions and the growing friction between the Liberals and the Socialists may have been other causes. The Edén ministry remained in

office until March 1920, during which period universal suffrage and an industrial eight-hour day were introduced.

Branting now formed his first purely Social Democratic ministry, and at once began to consider vast socialistic schemes —involving even the democratisation of industry and control of trusts and cartels. But Conservative victories in the Second Chamber elections of September caused him to dissolve his ministry in October 1920, and a Conservative ministry followed.

The succeeding elections of September 1921 favoured the socialists, especially in the First Chamber, and in the following month Branting formed his second socialist ministry. In this year the Social Democrats acquired a relative but not absolute majority in each Chamber, which obliged them to act rather as a Radical middle-class party. Unemployment was now rife, and the socialist determination to provide relief work or wages led to the downfall of the ministry in April 1923.

The ensuing Conservative Government was defeated on the question of disarmament, and Branting formed his third ministry on 18th October 1924, after the Upper Chamber elections of September had resulted in the Social Democrats gaining five seats. The standing of the parties during the various elections between 1917 and 1924 was as follows :

	Lower, or Second Chamber.				Upper, or First Chamber.[1]		
	1917	1920	1921	1924	1918	1919	1924
Social Democrats	86	76	99	104	19	49	52
Conservatives	70	99	62	65	86	57	44
Peasant Party			21	23			18
Liberals (three groups)	62	48	41	33	43	40	35
Communists	12	7	7	5	2	4	1
	230	230	230	230	150	150	150

Four months later, however, on 24th February 1925, Branting died. His death was a severe loss not only to the Swedish

[1] One-eighth are elected annually by county and city councils. The two Chambers hold joint sessions.

Social Democratic Party but to the world socialist movement, for Branting was above all things an International Socialist. Richard Sandler, Minister of Commerce, succeeded him at the head of the Social Democratic ministry—which, however, fell in the autumn of 1926, again on the question of unemployment. This third socialist ministry had, however, introduced shorter military service and effected a reduction of the army.

The succeeding Liberal ministry lasted until the autumn of 1928, when, in the elections for the Second Chamber, the socialists lost fifteen seats and the Liberals one, while the Conservatives and Agrarians gained eight and four respectively. The Communists increased their number from five to eight.

The present programme of the Social Democratic Party reflects the policy that found expression in the activities of the previous Socialist Governments: namely, the legal establishment of the eight-hour day in lieu of the existing provisional status of it, old age insurance, unemployment insurance, land reform, and the amendment of the constitution of the Upper House. Agricultural co-operation, which has been so successful in Denmark and elsewhere, is also advocated.

Sweden is the only country in the world which has had three purely socialist ministries since the close of the Great War. Altogether the socialists have been in office for about four years. During that period no great measures of socialisation had been carried through—most of the legislation being of a reformist or anti-military nature. Thus Sweden, from the theoretical point of view, seems singularly disappointing in regard to socialistic legislation: this being mainly due to the fact that in no Government have the Social Democrats had an absolute working majority. There are signs and portents, however, that the next Social Democratic ministry will be more courageous and determined than its predecessors, but meanwhile there are indications that it will have to face a united bourgeois block.

Norway

In Norway, after the war, grave dissensions arose in the Socialist Party, a Communist and Labour (anti-Moscow Communist) section split off, while the main body was represented

by the Social Democratic Labour Party. The Storthing elections of 1918, 1921, and 1924 gave the following results :

	1918.	1921.	1924.
Conservative Liberal	51	57	54
Radical Groups	52	37	36
Farmers' Party	3	17	22
Labour Party	20	25	24
Social Democratic Party			8
Communist Party	...	14	6
	126	150	150

The most striking feature of the elections of 1924 was the crushing defeat of the Moscow Communists, whose most prominent candidate failed to secure re-election.

In 1926 unity between the Labour Party and the Social Democrats was re-established—at the price of a cessation of the international relations of each section—the Social Democratic Party being obliged to discontinue its relationship with the Labour Socialist International, and the Labour Party its relations with the Paris " Bureau of Social Revolutionary Parties."

The advantages of the union were forcibly shown at the elections which followed in the next autumn (1927), when the United Socialist Party secured 59 seats out of 150, and in the January of the following year proceeded to form the first Labour Government, with the aid of 3 Communist members, and a portion of 31 members of the bourgeois Left. A fortnight later, however, in consequence of extra-parliamentary opposition from the Director of the State Bank, who had demanded State guarantees in connection with the policy of deflation carried out since 1921, the Socialist Government was beaten. The result was further unity of the socialist forces, for the leader of the Communists, Scheflo, promptly announced his intention of joining the Norwegian Labour Party and was followed by another of his parliamentary comrades and the bulk of the Communist Party.

FINLAND

Finland was one of the first European countries where the socialists took part in a coalition ministry, for in March 1917, with the abdication of Nicholas II. of Russia, a Provisional Government was set up, consisting of six Social Democrats and six Bourgeois, which proclaimed the independence of Finland. In the elections to the Finnish Diet of October 1917, the non-socialist parties obtained a small majority, but the socialist Speaker of the Diet, M. Tokoi, was nominated President of the Senate.

Before many months had elapsed, however, it was evident that the Social Democrats and their bourgeois opponents, did not see eye to eye. The socialists held that union with Russia in some form was necessary to save the country from invasion, whilst the others were more sympathetically drawn to complete independence with Scandinavian goodwill and German assistance. In the following months, strikes, brigandage, and rioting broke out, and the German invasion of April 1918, and the successive Red and White Terrors, led to the loss of 15,000 lives.

The successful quenching of the revolution was solely due to co-operation between the Finnish Whites and Imperialistic Germany, and it was German bayonets and bombs that gave the victory into the hands of Conservatism—a victory that was consolidated by excluding Social Democrats from the Diet. With dramatic suddenness, however, the German lines collapsed. The German troops were withdrawn from Finland, and the White Terror was broken.

In March 1919 a new election took place. To the general surprise of the country, the Social Democratic Party succeeded in securing 80 seats; the election returns, as compared with 1917, being:

	1917.	1919.
Social Democrats	95	80
Agrarians	22	42
Coalitionists	65	28
Progressives		26
Swedes	18	22
Christian Labour	...	2

A new Liberal Government was formed, and little by little reforms were introduced. With the aid of the Socialist Party a man of Liberal opinions—the Republican Professor Stählberg—was elected President in place of the reactionary General Mannerheim.

Civil disturbances continued. In June 1919 the Finnish Diet established a Republic, and a Coalition anti-Socialist Government held office until April 1921, when it gave place to an Agrarian-Progressive Government. Meanwhile, the revolutionary section of the Social Democrats had formed a Communist Party, and in the elections of July 1922, the Social Democrats secured only 53 seats, while the Communists secured 27. There was little change in the other parties.

In October 1923 the Communist Party was suppressed, and twenty-five of its parliamentary representatives imprisoned. In the elections of April 1924 the returns, as compared with 1922, were as follows :

	1922.	1924.
Social Democrats . . .	53	60
Communists . . .	27	18
Agrarians	45	44
Finnish Coalitionists . .	35	38
Progressives . . .	15	17
Swedes (Union Party) . .	25	23

The Agrarians and the Union Party formed the next Government, which was quickly followed by an Agrarian-Coalitionist Government.

When, in December 1926, the bourgeois Coalition Government then prevailing was overthrown, the Social Democratic Party under Herr V. Tanner, after negotiations with the bourgeois Radical groups for the purpose of forming a Coalition Government had failed, decided to form a purely Socialist Government, although they had the support of the Progressive and Swedish Parties. The Government programme, accepted by the Party Council, included reform of the taxes, the introduction of social insurance, reduction in expenditure for military purposes, abridgment of the term of military service, etc. The Government, however, rested on the narrowest majority, which moreover was heterogeneous ; thus

no great success was attainable—the Swedish Party, for instance, declining to give much assistance in the reform of taxation. Nevertheless, the first Socialist Government of Finland was successful in carrying through an amnesty law, which restored to the workers the rights of citizenship, of which they had been deprived for their participation in the Civil War of 1918; the attainment of cheaper credit was made possible for the small farmers; important customs duties on provisions were reduced; and social insurance brought into the field of debate. The prestige of the socialists grew as a result of the activities of the Government, which was, however, continuously attacked by the Finnish bourgeois parties of the Opposition.

Meanwhile, the general elections of 2nd July 1927 had resulted in the loss of seven seats by the Progressives to the Agrarians, which rendered the Government situation untenable.

On 9th December 1927, the Socialist Government was defeated on the question of import duties on rye, and resigned, after having held office for a year. An Agrarian Government followed.

During the socialist ministry no less than 323 Government Bills were introduced, of which 264 were accepted during the first six months. None of these, however, were of prime importance from the purely socialist point of view.

At the general elections in 1929 the Social Democrats secured 59 seats—a net loss of one. The Socialists are now faced by the fiercest opposition from the Fascists, who are opposed to parliamentary institutions, and the situation is one of great difficulty.

DENMARK

The post-war years in Denmark have seen three Socialist-Radical administrations. At the general elections of 1918 the Radical and Socialist Parties secured a majority in the Lower, though not in the Upper House, and a Coalition Government was formed, headed by the Liberal, Mr. Zahle,

who had previously led a Conservative-Radical-Socialist Coalition. Two years later, on 29th March 1920, the King dismissed Mr. Zahle on account of differences over the Schleswig plebiscite. Both Socialists and Radicals denounced the King's action as unconstitutional, the socialists promptly declaring for a Republic, and ordering a general strike. The King, having the support of the Liberal and Conservative Parties, asked Mr. O. Liebe to form a non-political Cabinet while a new Folketing was elected. The general strike, which lasted only a few days, was cancelled when an Electoral Reform Bill was promised. The Electoral Bill rapidly passed through both Houses, and on 26th April 1920 the general elections were held. The result was a great victory for the Liberal and Conservative Parties, who gained a total of 81 seats, while the Radicals were reduced to 17—the Socialists increasing their representation to 42. A Liberal ministry followed, but three months later a second general election was necessary in order to give the people an opportunity of expressing their views on the incorporation of Northern Schleswig, and a third general election followed after Northern Schleswig had been incorporated. The results may be summarised as follows :

	1918.	1920.		
		April.	July.	October.
Socialists . .	39	42	41	48
Radicals . .	32	17	17	18
Liberals . .	45	53	53	52
Conservatives .	23	28	29	30
Germans . .	...	...	....	1
	139	140	140	149

During the next four years the Radicals and Socialists were in opposition until April 1924, when M. Stauning, the Social Democratic leader, formed his first Cabinet. The subsequent elections, held in September, showed a great increase in the socialist vote, and for the first time they were the strongest party in the Folketing, though

still in a minority in the Landsting. The results were as follows :

	Folketing.	Landsting.
Socialists . . .	55	25
Radicals . . .	20	8
Liberals . . .	45	31
Conservatives . .	28	12
Germans . . .	1	....

As a result of the victories of 1924 the Social Democrats continued in office under M. Stauning, who was able to remain at the helm for some two and a half years, with Radical support, from 23rd April 1924 to 30th December 1926. Together with the Radicals they had in the Second Chamber a majority of one, while a Conservative-Liberal majority existed in the First Chamber.

Notwithstanding this precarious situation, the Socialist Government succeeded in finding solutions for various important questions. The currency, which, under the previous Government, had fallen into a state of chaos, was stabilised. Order was introduced into the national finances, and the national debt was substantially reduced. Sundry duties on raw materials, indirect taxes, and also railway, postal, telegraph, and telephone charges were lowered. The conditions of civil servants and of old age pensioners were improved, and a municipal tax on land values imposed. Moreover, far-reaching measures of reform in the school system, penal code, land tenure, and hours and conditions of labour were introduced. But the legislative proposal over which the greatest division occurred was the Disarmament Bill, which was introduced in the Folketing on 9th October 1924. This proposed to abolish the army, navy, war office, and admiralty, and to carry out international obligations under the League of Nations by a corps of seven thousand frontier guards, with a maritime force of five vessels of 800–1500 tons.

The Bill was passed by the Folketing by 75 votes to 71,

after a heated debate, in March 1926, but was subsequently rejected by the Landsting (Upper House) on 10th June 1927.

It was when M. Stauning's Government attempted to relieve unemployment and the pressure of taxation upon the poorer classes that the worst difficulties arose. The plan of the Government was to further the extension and rationalisation of industry by helping certain industries. The proposals, however, were accompanied by measures of industrial control in the interest of consumers and workers, and over these the co-operation between the Radicals and Socialists broke down.

In the succeeding elections of December 1926, the party lost two seats and M. Stauning resigned; but whilst the party had lost two seats, its vote had grown to over 500,000, representing 37·2 per cent. of the electorate, and the Socialists were still the strongest party in the State.

The ensuing Liberal-Conservative Government, however, only lasted just over two years, and the crisis was reached when the Conservatives and Liberals quarrelled over the Army and Navy Budget. In the general elections of April 1929, the Socialists, fighting mainly on the question of disarmament, won 61 seats, and the Radicals 16, against 68 won by all the other parties. The result of the election was a third Socialist-Radical Coalition Government. During the autumn session of the Folketing the new Government again introduced a Bill to reduce the army to a force of constabulary and the navy to a few police vessels, to abolish the Ministries of War and Marine, and to abandon conscription. Since, however, the Government were in a minority of four in the Upper House (Landsting) it was impossible to carry the Bill, and it was temporarily withdrawn in July 1930. There is every indication, however, that the Socialists will persevere with the policy, and great interest will attach to the Upper House elections in the August of 1932.

Denmark has flourished under a Socialist-Radical regime. Poverty has practically been abolished, railways, fisheries, and hospitals have been nationalised, and they are spending on peace what other nations spend on war.

BELGIUM

In Belgium, after the Armistice, the Government was composed of ministers belonging to the three great parties—Catholic, Socialist, and Liberal. All political strife ceased, a truce having been brought about by mutual concessions. Universal male suffrage at twenty-one years of age was established at the demand of the Socialists, but, as a concession to the Catholics, the Chamber granted votes to women in the communal elections, but not in the parliamentary. The elections to the Lower House of 16th November 1919 on the new basis, deprived the Catholics of the majority they had enjoyed since 1884, while the Socialists gained considerably; and a Catholic-Liberal Coalition resulted. At the succeeding election in 1921, the results were as follows:

The Lower House.	1919.	1921.
Catholics	73	80
Socialists	70	68
Liberals	34	33
Others	9	1
	186	182

and again a Catholic-Liberal Coalition was formed.

The following elections on 4th April 1925 saw a marked increase in the socialist representation, the Catholics (including 3 Christian Democrats) having a representation of 78, which was equalled by the Socialists—the Liberals sinking to 23; whilst the Frontists, the extreme Flemish Party which demands autonomy of the Flemish part of the country, had 6 members, and the Communists 2.

The result was an All-Party Coalition, with M. Jaspar, a Catholic, as Premier; but this only lasted until November 1927, when a Catholic-Liberal Coalition was formed, which lasted until 1930. In the elections of May 1929 the Socialists lost 6 seats, the comparative figures being: Catholics 76, Liberals 28, Socialists 72, Communists 1, Frontists 10, and 1 Independent.

At the present time the Socialist Party is composed of two elements : the Walloon, which is in the majority, and the Flemish minority. The Walloon group is nationalist, anti-clerical, reformist, and anti-Marxian ; the Flemish group is internationalist, friendly with Catholics, more radical and Marxian. Both are united, under the veterans M. Vandervelde and M. Louis de Brouckère, in the support of Free Trade, the nationalisation of mines, taxation of capital, the representation of workers in industrial management, social and unemployment insurance, compulsory vocational education, and low taxation of workers.

After the general election in May 1929, when the Frontists made such striking progress in the Flemish provinces, the Flemish question dominated Belgian politics until 29th November, when a Cabinet crisis solved the immediate difficulty. There is every indication that at the next election the Socialists and Frontists will considerably increase their numbers.

During these post-war years the main task of the Belgian Government has been to put its finances on a sound basis and thus avoid national bankruptcy. The country's principle asset was its railways, which had been nationalised from the outset ; and the problem of the Government was to find a means of raising money on the security of the railways, without parting with their control. A company, called the Belgian National Railways, was formed, with a lease to work the railways for a period of years. In this Company all the Ordinary Shares are held by the Belgian Government. The board of directors is composed of twenty-one members, eighteen of whom are appointed by the Government, and three by the railway workers themselves.

The step has often been advanced by anti-socialists as an illustration of the failure of nationalisation, but a calm, dispassionate review of the facts seems to indicate the opposite.

CHAPTER XIV

Socialism in France, 1919–1930, and Great Britain, 1919–1930

WE have seen how, at the beginning of the war, there were two main groups of French socialists—the Unified Socialists under Jaurès and Guesde, and the anti-Marxists under Hervé—and how during the war years these had united and again split into Majority, Minority, and Zimmerwald groups.

These differences were among the causes that led to severe losses to both sections in the general elections of 1919—the total number of socialist members being reduced from 96 to 68, while the Communists secured only 6 returns. The Radical Socialists suffered still more, for they dropped from 166 to 86 in the Chamber. It was the most severe blow parliamentary socialism had ever sustained in France, and it is small wonder that the Communists, with their avowed opposition to parliamentary government, became stronger and more truculent—thus accentuating the differences, which grew apace during the next few months, until they resulted in definite schisms. The first schism came in 1920, after a number of deputies refused to fight the general elections of 1919 side by side with Jacques Sadoul, a notorious French officer who had helped the Russian Bolsheviks and had been sentenced to death by a French court-martial. These deputies were excluded from the Congress at Strasburg of 1920, and promptly formed a new party, the French Socialist Party, and were known, in the political argot of the day, as "dissidents de la première cuvée." At the same Congress the Socialist Party was reorganised, its programme modified in the way of tactics, but enlarged to include certain other items. The most prominent measures in the programme now included a capital levy, State monopolies for the pro-

duction of luxuries, financial partnership by the State in all centralised industries, and, as before, the nationalisation of railways, mines, shipping, water power, banking, and insurance.

At the following Congress, at Tours in 1921, the Communists secured a majority for a resolution favouring adhesion to the Third International, and changed the name of the party to the French Communist Party. The socialist minority refused to accept either the change in name or the change in policy—and the second schism occurred.

Thus by 1921 there remained three parties amid the ruins of former socialist unity: The Communist Party, having *L'Humanité* and the *Internationale* as its organs, which was affiliated to the Third International; fourteen deputies, among whom was Marcel Cachin, represented it in the Chamber of Deputies, and its adherents numbered about 100,000. The Unified Socialist Party, with *Le Populaire* as its organ, had about 50,000 members and 60 representatives in Parliament, among whom the chief were Sembat, Basly, Leon Blum, and Paul Boncour. The French Socialist Party, the third portion, was of minor importance.

Thus, by 1922, French socialism had reached its lowest ebb for many years—but with the purification came strength, and during the following years the Unified Socialists won back the power and influence they had lost. The first indication of this was at the general election of 1924, when the Unified Socialists were returned 40 per cent. stronger—the results, compared with 1919, being:

	1919.	1924.
Unified Socialists	68	102
Communists	6	29
Radicals and Radical Socialists	60	139
Republican Socialists	27	36
Left Republicans	133	126
Conservatives	31	20
Progressives	130	117
Liberals	72	
Others	....	11
	527	580

During the following years the differences between the Socialists and the Communists did not lessen. For two or three years the Socialists and the Radical Socialists acted more or less together, and the "Cartel" of 1924–26, and the Herriot Government of 1924–25 had socialist support. The "Cartel" was a temporary alliance formed just before the 1924 election, to meet the conditions created by the curious French electoral laws, and was mainly animated by a distrust of M. Poincaré. It was financial policy that caused the break-up of the Cartel, principally on the question of a levy on capital; for Herriot's Radical ministry did not dare, in face of the opposition of the great banks, to appeal to the country and to effect with the help of the working-class forces financial restoration at the expense of the rich. The break-up of the Cartel resulted in the return of M. Poincaré, who held office for several years.

Though Herriot had condemned the foreign policy of Poincaré, he yet joined the Poincaré ministry in July 1929, and so put an end to Radical-Socialist co-operation. The result was not unfortunate from the socialist point of view, for at the Senate elections of 1927 they gained 8 seats (thus securing recognition as a "group"), bringing their total up to 14, and in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies in April 1928 they held their own.

The results of the general elections of 1928 were as follows:

Left	Unified Socialists	100
	Communists	12
	Republican Socialists	31
	Radicals and Radical Socialists	125
Centre	Unionist and Social Left	18
	Radical Left	53
	Republican Left	64
Right	Democratic and Social Action	29
	Conservatives (Repub. Dem. Union)	102
	Popular Democratic	19
	Independents	53
		606

During these last few years all French political parties have fallen in one or the other of three main divisions. The "Left" consists of the Unified Socialists, the Communists, the Republican or Independent Socialists, and the Radicals and Radical Socialists, the last two of which are *not* Socialist parties. The "Centre" consists of the Radical Left, the Republican Left, and, from 1926 onwards, the Unionist and Social Left. The "Right" consists of the three "Democratic" parties and the Independents.

The Unified Socialist Congress, which met at Toulouse in May 1928, after the elections, examined the general socialist position. A resolution, passed almost unanimously, declared the party to be entirely independent of the parties of the Centre and of the Right, and that the attitude of the party towards a Government of "national unity" could be no other than one of pure opposition. This question, however, came up again at the Congress at Paris in January 1930, after the refusal of the socialists to accept the offer made by the Radical leader, M. Daladier, to help him in forming a ministry; and it has since been argued by the advocates of participation that this refusal directly led to the formation of the succeeding Tardieu ministry in the early part of 1930. The opponents of participation, however, hold that even with Socialist help a Radical ministry could not have lasted a day in the Chamber, since the Radicals and Socialists combined were still in a minority.

One other feature of the French Labour movement must be mentioned, and that is Syndicalism, which emerged very strongly after the war. At the Congress of the General Confederation of Labour at Lyons in 1919—the largest held in France up to that time—they demanded the socialisation of transport, mines, water-power, and banks, but parted company with the socialists in proposing that they should be under the control of industrial syndicates and not the State. The Confederation, however, in the next year split over the disastrous general strike and subsequent prosecutions by the Government, which also ordered the dissolution of the Confederation.

GREAT BRITAIN, 1919–30

With the year 1918, and the withdrawal of the Labour Party from the National Coalition, Labour was free from all entanglements with other parties, and in the five years that followed there was a steady increase in Labour membership in the House of Commons, as the following figures show:

General Election of	Seats Contested.	Members Returned.	Labour Vote.
1918 . .	361	57	2,245,000
1922 . .	414	142	4,237,000
1923 . .	427	191	4,348,000

Up to 1918 the Labour Party had deliberately and repeatedly refused to adopt a formal programme because it did not wish to exclude non-socialists, but in that year the official declaration of the policy of the party as contained in "Labour and the New Social Order," definitely committed the party to socialism without ever actually using the word.

In 1922 nearly all the Labour leaders who had been defeated in the elections of 1918 owing to their pacifist activities were returned to Parliament — Mr. Ramsay MacDonald being among them. Almost immediately he was made Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, displacing Mr. J. R. Clynes, who had held that office for only a year. The elections of that year had resulted in the Labour Party becoming the second strongest parliamentary force, and for the first time in British history, Labour formed "His Majesty's Opposition." Three months later, Mr. Philip Snowden moved in the House of Commons a resolution on purely socialist lines, and it is worth while comparing this with the first of such resolutions moved by Mr. Keir Hardie twenty-two years earlier, when there were only four Labour members in the House. The first socialist resolution (1901) was as follows:

"That considering the increasing burden which the private ownership of land and capital is imposing upon the

industrious and useful classes of the community, the poverty and destitution and general moral and physical deterioration resulting from a competitive system of wealth production which aims primarily at profit-making, the alarming growth of trusts and syndicates, able by reason of their great wealth to influence Governments, and plunge peaceful nations into war to serve their own interests, this House is of the opinion that such a state of matters is a menace to the well-being of the Realm, and calls for legislation designed to remedy the same by inaugurating a Socialist Commonwealth founded upon the common ownership of land and capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

The second socialist resolution (1923) was in these terms :

" That in view of the failure of the capitalist system adequately to utilise and organise natural resources and productive power, or to provide the necessary standard of life for vast numbers of the population, and believing that the cause of this failure lies in the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, this House declares that legislative effort should be directed to the gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based on the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution."

Mr. Snowden's resolution was defeated by 271 votes ; the 121 Labour members alone voting for it.

In December 1923 the Conservatives returned to office with 258 members, the re-united Liberal Party returned 156 strong, and the Labour Party was represented by 191. There followed a vote of censure against the Conservative Government, and in January of 1924 Mr. Ramsay MacDonald accepted office, with the support of the Liberal Party Labour had at last attained to office—but not to power.

The temporary alliance of Liberalism and Labour, which had little to bless it, and which neither side regarded with any enthusiasm, soon ended in a divorce. In the summer of 1924 the Russian Treaty that the Labour Government proposed to implement aroused considerable opposition amongst the Liberals, and on the excuse of the Campbell case, a vote

of censure was carried against the Labour Government. Labour had been in office for nine months. In that short space of time it had introduced a popular Budget and a vigorous Housing Act ; it had slightly reduced the numbers of the unemployed and had *not* attempted any extreme socialist measures. The election that followed in the October of 1924 was clouded by the notorious Red Letter—a letter purporting to have been written by one of the Russian leaders, Zinovieff, urging British Communists to certain drastic lines of action. Fear of Bolshevism had the effect of reducing the Labour representation in the House to 150 (though the national vote had grown to 5,488,000), and of increasing the Conservative representation to 420, while the once vigorous Liberal Party was reduced to 39.

The following year, 1925, saw the commencement of a determined struggle to clear out the Communist element in the Labour Party—an element which persisted in desiring to join with the object of destroying it. At the Annual Conference of the party held at Liverpool in the autumn, the resolution that " No member of the Communist Party shall be eligible to become a member of any affiliated local Labour Party or be entitled to remain a member " was passed by the overwhelming majority of 2,870,000 votes to 321,000. The Liverpool Conference also passed a resolution " recommending " the Trades Unions to refrain from nominating or electing delegates who were known members of " non-affiliated bodies "—a resolution that was carried by 2,692,000 votes to 480,000. Straightway there began a vigorous purging of the Labour stables. Difficulty, however, was experienced in the movement generally by the fact that members of Trade Unions could still be Communists and represent their Unions as delegates to Labour organisations ; and in spite of all efforts Communist delegates continued to appear for a year or two at the Annual Conferences of the Labour Party, especially those representing the National Boilermakers' Union.

Meanwhile, efforts had been made, in view of the prevalent Labour unrest, to unify the Trade Union movement. Labour disputes with employers had grown considerably in 1923,

1924, and 1925. Efforts were now made to form a Four Group Alliance of the four great Unions—the Miners, the Transport Workers, the Railway Workers, and the Engineering and Shipbuilding Workers. The reason was not far to seek. Many causes had resulted in a tremendous burden of unemployment throughout the country. In no industry was this more prevalent than in the mining industry, and efforts were made by the Conservative Government early in 1926 to tide over this bad period by means of granting a subsidy to the mine owners. Their refusal to continue the subsidy, or their inability to evolve a satisfactory alternative, resulted, in the May of 1926, in the attempt of the Unions, supported by the Labour Party, to force the hands of the Government by means of a general strike. The struggle was short and sharp. The Government won—and followed up its victory by the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, which made genera lstrikes illegal, and made the Trade Union contributions to the Labour Party dependent upon the written consent of each Trade Unionist.

The result was a legacy of bitterness. A hard blow had been struck at the Labour Party and the Trades Unions, which found the political levy decreased from £135,000 in 1927 to £118,512 in 1928.

The Labour Party, however, showed no inclination to sit down and mourn for its lost shekels, and in the various by-elections that followed, convincing proof was advanced that there was a spirit of determination abroad that immeasurably strengthened the party. The result was clearly shown in the general election of 30th May 1929. The Conservative majority of 400 decreased to a minority of 260, while the Labour Party increased its numbers from 162 to 289, and the Liberals from 46 to 59. The result was the second Labour Minority Government—again dependent upon Liberal support, and with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at its head.

Meanwhile, the expulsion of Communists from the Labour Party had had the effect of exploding the strength of the Communist movement. Their one parliamentary lamb, Mr. Saklatvala, was left in the wilderness.

Many influences had gone to this victory. It was true that it was Ramsay MacDonald who had led the troops, but

it was Arthur Henderson, the Secretary of the party, who had evolved the fighting machine, and the Webbs and George Bernard Shaw who had mapped out the route. It is perhaps impossible to over-estimate the propaganda influence of the works of George Bernard Shaw. Mention has been made of his writings for the Fabian Society in the 'nineties, and his steady stream of articles, plays, lectures, and interviews continued with ever-increasing brilliance. From the purely socialist point of view, his most important work is his *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, published in 1928, in which he treats socialism as the philosophy of life as a whole, and not as a part of life. Still the socialist of the Fabian Essays, he knows his Marx, his Webb, and his Mill, but little of theoretic or legislative socialism since their day. His indictment of capitalistic civilisation can indeed be only equalled by Marx, or by the Webbs in their *Decay of Capitalist Civilisation*. He analyses profit-making as the foundation of that civilisation, and mercilessly shows up the ugly and rotten material in it. Thence he passes to his main conclusion, that equality of income is essential. Essentially a Fabian, he believes that this, or a near approximation, can be achieved by "the inevitability of gradualness," and that other parties will adopt socialist measures even more in the future than in the past.

There is much truth in the suggestion that other parties will adopt even more and more socialist measures, for all the socialised services of Great Britain except one have been socialised or created by non-socialist Governments. Examples of this are the Government Printing Works, which hands over a yearly surplus of nearly £100,000 to the Treasury; the State-owned public-houses at Carlisle, which have repaid the Treasury out of profits since 1916 no less than £1,200,000 —more than the total capital investment made by the State; while the Post Office produces a yearly surplus of nearly £9,000,000 per annum. The one social service that was socialised by the Labour Government of 1924 was the beam wireless system, which in the next three years and nine months yielded £364,000 in profits, besides lowering the charges for messages to Australia, South Africa, and India by one-third.

In 1928, however, the Conservative Government handed over this profitable venture to a merger company, dominated by its cable company competitors.

In the months that followed the general election of 1929, the Minority Labour Government carried out a policy of social reform by instalments. Ameliorative measures, such as amended legislation in connection with the Widows' Pensions and National Insurance Acts, a Housing Act, an involved Coal Bill, a slight reduction in armaments, the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, and the raising of the school-leaving age, marked their progress. The Coal Mines Bill reduced the working day to seven hours and a half, with one winding time. It established a National Board to deal with wages and conditions in the industry, and created a national marketing scheme, under which the amount of coal produced in each pit may be rationed, the selling price may be fixed, and a levy may be raised on any class of coal to enable coal for the export trade or for the heavy industries to be sold at a lower figure. The Bill, in its early stages, was hotly attacked by both wings of the Opposition, and only secured a second reading by a majority of eight votes. The Third Reading, however, was passed by a straight Labour vote over the Conservative—the Liberals abstaining. Critics aver that all these measures tend to bolster up the capitalist system by removing some of its worst features and thus delaying the socialist commonwealth; indeed it is becoming increasingly evident that the nationalisation of bankrupt or moribund industries will not produce the "new Jerusalem," and the probability is that in the near future Labour will have to recast much of its programme in the light of added experience. Meanwhile there were indications that the Liberals, who hitherto had been "willing to wound but yet afraid to strike," were now willing to wed but yet afraid to woo, and the position was one of considerable delicacy.

In recent years the British Labour Party has been in closer touch with the Co-operative movement, which continues to expand (the C.W.S. sales during 1929 amounting to nearly £89,000,000, an increase of just under £2,000,000 on 1928), and in 1927 there was a formal junction of the Co-operative

movement and the Labour Party for political purposes. On the other hand, relations with the I.L.P. have not grown more cordial. We have seen how the Labour Minority Governments of 1924 and 1929–30 were compelled to rely on Liberal support, and thus introduced an advanced Radical programme. This led the leaders of the I.L.P. to pass severe strictures upon the leaders of the Labour Party, with the result that in 1927 Mr. Philip Snowden resigned his membership of the I.L.P., and three years later Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who had stood as an I.L.P. candidate as early as 1895, severed a thirty-five years' connection in the same manner. Though small in numbers and financially poor, the I.L.P. still exercises a definitely socialistic influence.

To a great extent the Labour Party continues to rely for its finances and membership upon the Trade Union movement, but during the last decade the Trade Unions have considerably decreased in numbers and in power. In 1921 the unions had as many as 8,000,000 members—but that was the high tide of the movement, and year by year since the membership has declined, until in 1928 it sank to 3,764,865. The causes of this decline are many, but the chief are industrial depression and the tendency of social legislation to undermine trade unionism. Parliamentary sanction of an eight-hour day, of unemployment, health, and old age insurance, has cut right across the benefits that unions formerly offered, and thus we come to the conclusion that the Trades Unions, by helping the Labour movement to secure social legislation, are pursuing a policy that, to say the least of it, is altruistic in the extreme.

Mention must be made here of the phase of socialism known as Guild Socialism, which in the immediate post-war years promised to have a growing influence on socialist thought and practice throughout the English-speaking world. Guild Socialism was an effort to solve modern economic problems by applying the guild system of mediæval society. A. G. Penty, S. G. Hobson, and G. D. H. Cole were its exponents from 1906 to the war years, and they developed their theory on the lines of self government by industries. In 1914 the National Guilds League was formed, and war-time con-

ditions helped the movement, which captured many of the younger Trade Union leaders. In 1919, for instance, the Miners' Federation, which had previously advocated nationalisation, put before the Coal Industry Commission what amounted to "Guild proposals." Similar influences were at work in the postal, railway, and building industries, and in the teaching profession. Even the policy of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. was modified to meet the Guild point of view, and the phrase used, "the democratic control of industry," was one that satisfied both Guild and State Socialists. But in the 'twenties, Guild Socialism gradually lost its hold, and by 1929 had disappeared.

Similarly the Communist Party has declined, and where, in 1926, they could boast of 12,000 members, by 1930 the membership had declined to 3500.

At the moment of writing (Oct. 1930), the Labour Party has had thirty years of propaganda: for thirty years it has attacked the capitalist system. It has also had two years of office, and has learnt that unemployment cannot be solved by the most tremendous national efforts, and that Free Trade is an outworn creed. It has also learnt that the nationalisation of industries will not alone produce the millennium; and that much more hard thinking will be required before the Socalist Commonwealth can appear in the realms of reality.

CHAPTER XV

Non-Socialist European States, 1914–1930

ONE of the legacies of the Great War was the creation of a number of small European States carved out of what had previously been the territories of the German, Austrian, and Russian Empires. In practically every one of these, the group system of political parties operates in a bewildering fashion. Many of these parties are created by an individual, and their rise and progress seem to vary with the fortunes or cleverness of their leaders.

In Lithuania there are at least eleven parties; in Estonia, nine; Latvia, sixteen; Hungary, eight; Finland, six; in Poland, twenty; and in Jugo-Slavia, nine. In almost every one of these countries party divisions, in addition to the usual Socialist, Liberal, and Conservative sections, are also along racial lines, and it is an historical fact that until national aspirations are settled the patriotic fever among the people of a given country or race tends to retard progress on socialist lines. It is not surprising that the history of socialism in these countries is frequently a history of competing factions —often striving for unity and as often failing. In some cases, however, there is direct and profitable collaboration.

POLAND

In Poland, three of the twenty political parties may be classed as socialist, and there is in addition the Communist Party, which has seven members. In the elections of November 1922 for the Lower Chamber, the main Socialist Party secured forty-one representatives, who advocated a moderate national socialist programme; and the National Labour Party returned a dozen members. This latter is a patriotic Radical Party, advocating a modified socialist programme. The German Socalist Party, formed in 1922, acts in co-operation with the main Socialist Party.

Divisions between the first two parties occurred in 1925, when the main Socialist Party joined the Coalition Governments of Mr. Skrynski and Mr. Vitos in an attempt to stabilise the currency. But the Capitalist Right and the Peasant Centre prevented the Cabinet from realising the " minimum " programme drafted at its constitution (*i.e.* a tax on capital as the basis of financial stabilisation); and towards May 1926 the socialists withdrew from the Cabinet, and the political crisis was intensified to a grave degree. The result was widespread discontent, and Marshal Pilsudski's *coup d'état* of May 1926.

In the eyes of the masses, the *coup d'état* bore the character of a revolutionary movement against the reactionary Government. The workers' organisations of all shades—even the Communists—placed themselves on the side of Pilsudski, and a prolonged civil war was avoided. At the close of three days of bloodshed, Pilsudski found himself a popular hero and dictator *de facto* of all Poland, with the full support of all socialists.

The mass of the workers hoped for a " Government of workers and peasants." People anticipated a bold approach towards a democratic system and social reforms. The Socialist Party proposed the dissolution of the Chamber and the Senate, with immediate general elections, which would probably have resulted in a socialist-peasant majority, with Pilsudski as President of the Republic. But the Marshal's political scheme did not coincide with these aspirations. He did not want a socialist-peasant majority; he retained the reactionary and unpopular Parliament, and gradually, during 1926 and 1927, swung towards reaction himself. Financiers, capitalists, and the large land owners rallied to his side; his old party, the National Democratic Party, was soon in rout, and disillusionment and discontent increased among the masses of workers and peasants.

In order to grasp the difficulties of the situation, it must always be borne in mind that Pilsudski is the hero of the struggle for Polish independence; that, like Mussolini, he sprang from the socialist ranks, and that since 1924 he had symbolised the whole cause of Polish democracy.

Socialist criticism of Pilsudski's policy began as early as

July 1926, and from the month of September it became very trenchant. In November 1926, the National Council of the Socialist Party passed by a strong majority a motion declaring the party's intention to go over to the Opposition.

Unquestionable facts soon supplied a quantity of proofs that the resolute policy of opposition was the right one, and the party entered upon the election campaign in perfect unity. On 4th March 1928 it secured the votes of 1,511,000 men and women (compared with 906,000 in 1922), and returned 63 members—an increase of 22—and the National Labour Party secured 19 seats for its two groups. The celebrated speech pronounced by Pilsudski on 1st July 1928 dispersed the last illusions that he believed in democracy or in socialism, and the socialist opposition to his policy grew fiercier. At the moment, two forces stand confronting one another in Poland in spite of the twenty parties: the first is the present regime, a symbol of political reaction with fascist tendencies, but devoid of clear-cut doctrine or declared programme—a symbol of the economic policy of the capitalists and owners of great estates; and the second, the Polish Socialist Party, rallying round it all the forces of democracy. Towards the end of May 1928 the majority of the Independent Socialist Party joined the Socialist Party, and there is a cordial working agreement with the Jewish "Bund" not only in national, but also in local elections. The "Bund," or the Jewish Socialist Party, represents 100,000 workers, and only recently, in 1930, became affiliated to the Labour and Socialist International.

The leader of the Polish Socialist movement is the veteran Dr. Herman Diamand, who founded the Polish Social Democratic Party in Galicia, and has been for many years the President of the Polish Socialist Party. Born in Lemberg on the 30th March 1860, he joined the Social Democratic movement as a young student of twenty, and the history of Polish socialism, as far as it occurred on the soil of the old Austria, is closely connected from the beginning with his activity.

In the first elections which took place in the old Austria in 1907 on the equal franchise basis, he was elected to the

Reichstag, and has had thirty-four years of parliamentary activity. On his entry into the Austrian Parliament he was elected to the Presidium by the Social Democratic group; and when, twenty years later, Poland was constituted an independent State, Diamand was elected to the Provisional Polish Government, to which fell the terrible task of bringing order out of a fearful chaos. Diamand received an important economic task, namely, the administration of the Polish mines. When the Labour and Socialist International was founded in Hamburg in 1923, Diamand was immediately appointed to its Executive by the Polish Congress Delegation, and has shown an extraordinary interest in all international problems.

LATVIA

In Latvia there are at least sixteen parties in a chamber of one hundred members, and the socialist forces are keenly divided, there being the Social Democratic Labour Party (founded in 1904) with a parliamentary membership of twenty-six, which represents mainly the interests of the wage workers, and the Reform Social Democratic Party of two members, which has the same basis but is less Radical and more nationalistic in principle, and inclined to co-operate with other parties for national welfare.

The first Latvian Parliament, which met in November 1922, consisted of 62 non-Socialist and 38 Socialist members. In the second Parliament, elected in October 1925, there were 63 non-Socialists and 37 Social Democrats, of whom 4 belonged to the revisionist branch. In December 1926 a Coalition Government of Socialist Democrats and Democrats took office, and pursued a pro-Russian course. This Government, which resigned in December 1927, was succeeded early in 1928 by a Coalition of the moderate parties.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Another example of several socialist parties in a single Parliament is in Czecho-Slovakia, where, in the Parliament of three hundred members elected in November 1925, there were at least fourteen parties, of which four or five may be regarded

as socialist. The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party had 29 members, the Czechoslovak National Socialist 27, the German-Hungarian Social Democratic Party 17, and the German National Socialist Labour Party 7. In addition, the Communist Party had 40 members.

In the general election of October 1929, the socialists gained a number of seats, and so made it impossible to revive the old bourgeois Coalition. It took six weeks of negotiation before the conflicting desires of eight different political parties could be reconciled sufficiently to permit the formation of a new Coalition of five bourgeois and three socialist parties. The Communists lost eleven seats and have now only 29 members in the Chamber, with serious internal dissentions to add to their difficulties.

In contrast to these countries, Austria (which has been dealt with earlier), attenuated in size, is also attenuated in parties, having only four.

In the small European countries, where there have been no revolutionary changes in the last twenty years, the socialist parties have grown steadily, and in nearly every case have reached the position where they are either the largest party in the State or so important as to be capable of forming a Coalition Government with another party.

HOLLAND

In Holland, for instance, the post-war years saw a steady growth in the strength of the Social Democratic Party. In the Lower or Second Chamber the socialists' representation increased as follows :

	1922.	1925.	1929.	1930.
Social Democrats . . .	20	24	24	25
Catholics	32	30	30	30
Calvinists or anti-Revolutionists .	16	13	12	12
Christian Historical or Protestant Party	11	11	11	10
Liberal Union	10	9	8	8
Liberals or Democrats . .	5	7	7	7
Others	6	6	8	8

The Conservative or religious parties form the Government, while the Social Democrats act as the main Opposition. The programme of the latter is the constitutional nationalisation of land, radical labour legislation, disarmament, self-government for the colonies, compulsory education up to fifteen years, and local option.

The coal mines of Holland were nationalised in 1902. An indication of the progress that has been made since then may be gathered from the fact that the numbers of employees grew from 9 in 1902 to 2380 in 1912; 14,125 in 1922; and 20,908 in 1927. The capital invested, most of which is held by the State, is £6,500,000, and the gross profit for 1927 was £818,000. The mines produced 5,831,110 tons during this period. For comparison it may be mentioned that during the same period the Ebbw Vale Steel, Iron, and Coal Company, with a combined capital of £7,429,500, produced 4,063,803 tons of coal and coke, but did not earn sufficient profit to meet its fixed charges and interest of bankers' loans. It should be remembered that Holland is a Free Trade country, and the Dutch State mines have to face the full competition of English, German, and Belgian coal producers.

SWITZERLAND

In Switzerland during the post-war years the Social Democratic Party has grown steadily in strength, until it is now the second largest party in the National Council, the elections of October 1928 giving them 50 seats out of 198. They now form the principal opposition to the Radical Democratic and Catholic Conservative Coalition ministry. The party has a moderate constitutional programme, and became a member of the L.S.I. on 1st January 1927. This step marked a profound change of opinion in the Swiss party, for during the later years of the war they had a leading share in the foundation and activities of the Zimmerwald Conference. In the years following the war, however, the question as to joining the Third International led to a schism in the movement, and the minority of 5500 members passed over to the Communist Party in December 1920. Thereupon, the

main body affiliated to the Vienna or "Two and a half" International for a short time, during which the membership sank from 51,000 to 34,000. The decision to join the L.S.I. marks the final stage in their swing from Left to Right. The Communist movement is now a mere shadow, and has only two members in the National Council.

Another remarkable feature of post-war Europe is the fierce opposition extended to socialism by those European countries that have become military or semi-military dictatorships. Italy, Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and Greece are all examples of this kind of rule, and in every case dictatorships have followed upon the inability of party politicians or kings to govern ably. It must be admitted that in Italy, at any rate, the chaos of group politics before 1922 did call for strong measures, and it may perhaps be well to recount the main incidents leading up to Mussolini's *coup d'état*.

ITALY

In Italy, from 1914 to 1919, public attention was wholly fixed on the war, and little interest was paid to home affairs. Amid the complications and diversities of opinion as to the question of Italian intervention in the war, the Reformist Socialists were for intervention against Austria, realising that this, perhaps, would be the last opportunity for a bid for Italian unity. On the other hand, the official socialists, true to socialist theory of the wickedness of war, declared for absolute neutrality, and even went so far as to sympathise openly with Germany and Austria, and remained in the background as an opposition all through the war.

After the Armistice, attention was again turned to internal affairs, which were very grave. The ever-increasing cost of living caused riots and disturbances, which were not lessened by the socialist attempts to organise an international as well as internal general strikes, all of which failed lamentably.

The 1919 elections were preceded by a conference of

socialists at Bologna on 5th to 8th October, when they decided to go forward with a revolutionary "maximalist" programme, and to adhere to the Moscow Third International. After an uneventful election the Maximalists were found to be the largest party, with 156 members, while the Catholics were 101 strong. It is unusual and interesting to note that at least eight of the socialist deputies were millionaires, while the majority were lawyers and "organisers," only nineteen being working men.

At the opening of Parliament on 1st December 1919, the socialists demonstrated their hostility by refusing to cheer the King and dramatically leaving the Chamber. Several popular demonstrations were held by loyalists, and socialists were in some cases ill-treated. In retaliation the socialist leaders ordered another general strike, which, in the few places where it was attempted, was accompanied by pillage, arson, and murder. The socialists continued to be a violent and somewhat noisy Opposition—but as the faction among the other parties was too great to allow them to find an alternative, the weak ministry remained in office.

The socialists' success at the polls in May 1921, when they secured the return of 122 members, raised great hopes in sections of the workers, which was manifested by the revolutionary spirit of the railwaymen and postal employees, cotton-mill hands, electricians, and metal workers, although anarchist agitation amongst the troops was unsuccessful. Disorders, riots, and strikes continued spasmodically all through the year, and were quelled by popular and Government action. Divisions now took place in the socialists' ranks, and the separation of the Unitary Socialists from the Maximalists followed at the Rome Conference in September 1922.

A month later Benito Mussolini, himself one of the socialist leaders of the war period, took the helm, and with the advent of his Fascist Government, the socialist forces in Italy were practically smashed. By the electoral law of 1923, two-thirds of the seats in the Lower Chamber were allotted to the party heading the polls, and one-third to the other parties in proportion to their votes. In the elections of

1924, 364 seats were thus awarded to the Fascists, and the remainder as follows :

Socialists	64
Catholics	40
Liberals	30
National Union	12
Social Democrats	11
Republican	7
National Minorities	4
Sardinian	2

All these parties, with the exception of twelve of the Liberals, headed by Giovanni Giolitti, refused to recognise such an arbitrary procedure. Mussolini's reply was to unseat the abstaining 124 deputies, and to introduce a still more stringent electoral law, under which the voter can only vote for or against Fascism. It is claimed by the sponsors of the new system that it does away with sterile political struggles and transforms the Chamber into a kind of technical advisory board to the Government. Needless to add, it produced a Parliament thoroughly subservient to the Italian dictator. Further, at the end of 1926 the Fascist Government announced that it would no longer permit the existence, even in a disguised form, of any of the parties affected by the decree of dissolution. Thus the activities of these parties during the last five years fall into two phases : the first, previous to November 1926, when they were still facing, under increasing difficulties and with decreasing success, the problem of maintaining some vestiges of their organisation after all freedom had virtually disappeared ; and the second phase subsequent to that date, in which one after the other all the bodies and institutions of the Left were driven to take refuge abroad, and their problem became that of reconstructing in exile as much as possible of the structure which had been broken to pieces at home. The restoration of Italian socialist unity was at once recognised as one of the means of this restoration, and in July 1930 the unification of the Italian socialist parties was secured at a conference held in Paris, under the title of the

Italian Socialist Party. The new party unanimously decided to affiliate to the Labour and Socialist International. The exiled Italian movement, which is centred in Paris, has devoted its attention principally to the political and educational organisation of the continual stream of refugees from Italy, and to the distribution of its chief organ, *Avanti*, a weekly periodical published in Zurich, and other socialist literature.

SPAIN

In Spain socialism has never made much progress. Señor Pablo Iglesias (1850–1925), the president of the General Workers' Union, was the only socialist to be elected to the Cortes in pre-war years, and he worked in alliance with the Republicans. The post-war years saw Spain become a military dictatorship similar to Italy, but at the moment (1930) there seems to be every indication that before long parliamentary government will be renewed, possibly under a Republican administration. The socialists, led by Julien Besteirro, who, like his predecessor, is also the president of the General Union of Workers, are convinced that a Republic is the only solution of the grave crisis through which Spain is now passing.

PORTUGAL

Portugal, too, in pre-war years had only one socialist member of parliament, and for years the Royalist-Republican feud militated against the formation of an active Socialist Party. At the present time Portugal is governed by a military and naval Cabinet: since 1910 there have been fifty changes of ministry, and twenty attempts at *coups d'état*.

The fortunes of the Socialist Party have fluctuated a good deal. On the one hand it has had to make headway against repression by reactionary Governments, which have denied freedom of the Press or of meeting, while towards the Left its work is hindered by the prevalence of anarchist groups and by the activities of the Communists, who find their principal support among the workers of the arsenals. The insurrectionary outbreak which began on 23rd February 1927,

one of the stubbornest of recent times, had indirect results for the socialists also, though the party had not participated in it, and had indeed in a manifesto advised its members to hold strictly aloof; the collapse after great bloodshed of the rising being followed by the closure of many of the socialist headquarters, especially in the north, where the movement is strongest, for a period of nearly a year.

HUNGARY

When King Charles abdicated his kingship of Hungary in 1918, the regime which followed was of a thoroughly conservative character, and the dominant groups were monarchic in their sympathies. For a short time in 1919, the Communists under Bela Kun seized the power in Buda Pesth, but were soon expelled. By 1920, a Conservative Government was securely re-established, the elections of January resulting in a large majority for the non-socialist parties, and Admiral Horthy was elected " Regent " (not President). His accession was followed by severe repressive measures against the socialists, which culminated in the general elections of December 1926, when the Government union obtained a sweeping majority and the socialist representation was reduced from 24 to 14. It is not, perhaps, surprising that one of the main planks of the Socialist Party's platform is universal suffrage, with a secret ballot.

Mention must be made of the States of Georgia and the Ukraine, where Socialist bodies have existed since the end of the last century. In both of these States orthodox socialism is sternly repressed by the Bolshevik Government.

THE BALKANS

In Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, and Greece, socialism is not very strong, and has lost in force and influence since the immediate post-war years. In Rumania, for instance, in 1920, 19 Social Democrats were returned to the Lower Chamber, but by 1928 this number had decreased to 9 out of 387.

In Jugo-Slavia the socialists were unrepresented in Parliament from 1924 to 1927, and to-day they have but 2 members, compared with 60 in 1920.

In Bulgaria the Social Democrats have 10 seats compared with 59 in 1920. The Thirty-Second Ordinary Conference of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, which was attended by more than 300 delegates, was held in October 1929. According to the report made to the Conference, the party contains 30,279 members, including 302 women. The Socialist Youth Organisation, with 1650 members, and the Social Democratic Women's Organisation, with 1200 members, belong to the party.

In Greece, since the war, the Royalist-Republican squabbles and the military successes and defeats have given little room for socialist propaganda. The principal parliamentary parties are now the "Royalist" (anti-Venizelist) and the "Republican," with a handful of Communists. The Progressive Republican Party has socialist leanings, but Greece has yet to build up a sound and alert Socialist Party.

A general Labour Congress, called in the spring of 1928 to discuss socialist policy and tactics, resulted in the exclusion of 140 Communist delegates and in a definite schism. At the same time there was held a Socialist Congress, attended by all the non-Communist elements of the Greek movement. The Congress arrived at the important decision of uniting the various sympathetic groups into the new Greek Socialist Labour Party, which adopted the Marxian programme of the former Socialist Party. In the elections of August 1928, however, the socialists did not secure a single seat.

In each of these countries there has been a rigorous oppression of the socialist movement, and it cannot be said that the electoral laws are in their favour.

TURKEY

Turkey, likewise, had a socialist movement before the war, and in the Turkish Parliament of 1908 there were six socialist deputies; but the adhesion of Turkey to the German side in the Great War, and her crushing defeats at the hands

of the allies and subsequently of the Greeks, led to the creation of a martial spirit that resulted in 1922 in the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and the establishment of Mustapha Kemel Pasha as Dictator. At the present time no socialist party of any size or influence exists in Turkey.

Thus, in general review, one may say that in those European countries where parliamentary choice is unfettered the socialist parties have steadily increased their representation, in spite of internal dissensions; but in those countries governed by a dictator the socialist movement has lost much of its force, owing in many cases to repression.

CHAPTER XVI

The Post-War Internationals

IN a previous chapter it has been indicated how the Second International, under the double stress of the war and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, split into two main groups: the first, still known as the Second International, included all those national parties who believed that the ideals of socialism could be reached by parliamentary and constitutional action; the second, known as the Communist or Third or Zimmerwald International, included all those parties who believed that the socialist state could only be achieved by revolutionary methods and maintained by the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

During the war, as we have seen, there was not a full Congress of the Second International. After the Armistice, the need for such a congress was imperative, and the Conferences at Berne (February 1919), Lucerne (August 1919), and Geneva (August 1920), were intended to pave the way. Meanwhile, the Third, or Communist International, was constituted in March 1919, although its foundations had been laid at Zimmerwald and Kienthal in 1915 and 1916. Up to 1919 the Communists of all countries believed they could transform the Second International into the Communist International by pressure from within. As it grew plainer that this hope was Utopian, the Communists formed their own International.

During the next year parties that did not wish to affiliate with either the Second or Third, formed the Vienna International, and the world socialist movement was split into three main camps.

Attempts to re-establish an all-inclusive International were made in 1921 and 1922, and at Berlin in the latter year

representatives of all three Internationals met to seek ways and means of attaining unity. So far as the representatives of the Third International were concerned, however, the attempt failed, for although they had learnt that world revolution was by now impossible, their chief purpose was still revolutionary, they rejected compromise and parliamentarianism, and were only ready to support Socialist Internationals so far as " the hangman's rope supports the convict."

A few months later, in December 1922, representatives of the Second and Vienna Internationals met at the Hague ; a Joint Committee was formed, and invitations were issued to all Labour and Socialist Parties to an International Congress to be held at Hamburg in May 1923. This Congress was a brilliant success. Six hundred and twenty delegates from thirty countries decided to dissolve both the Second and the Vienna Internationals and to form in their place the new " Labour and Socialist International." The principle parts of the Constitution accepted at Hamburg are as follows :

1. The Labour and Socialist International is a union of such parties as accept the principle of the economic emancipation of the workers from capitalist domination and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth as their object, and the class struggle, which finds expression in the independent political and industrial action of the workers' organisations as a means of realising that object.

2. The object of the L.S.I. is to unify the activities of the affiliated parties, to arrange common action, and to bring about the entire unification of the International Labour and Socialist movement on the basis of this Constitution.

The parties associated in the L.S.I. undertake not to affiliate to any other political international.

3. The Labour and Socialist International can only become a reality if its decisions in all international questions are binding on its affiliated bodies. The resolutions of the International will therefore imply a self-imposed limitation of the autonomy of the affiliated organisations.

4. The L.S.I. is not only an effective instrument in peace, but just as absolutely essential during war.

In conflicts between nations the International shall be recognised as the highest authority.[1]

The second International Congress of the L.S.I. was held at Marseilles in 1925, and at this Congress it was announced that forty-two Socialist Parties representing thirty-three countries (including Dantzig) were affiliated, and the following statistics were published :

MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED PARTIES.

America	15,000	Greece	3,500
Argentine	8,000	Holland	39,500
Armenia	?	Hungary	190,000
Austria—		Italy	?
Socialist Party	566,100	Jugo-Slavia	..
Czech S.P.	14,700	Latvia	2,600
Belgium	621,000	Lithuania	2,000
British Guiana	1,100	Luxemburg	..
Bulgaria	28,800	Norway	8,000
Czecho-Slovakia—		Palestine	..
Czech S.P.	100,000	Poland—	
German S.P.	72,200	P.P.S.	59,600
Hungarian S.P.	2,000	German S.P.	3,000
Polish S.P.	2,000	Independent S.P.	..
Ruthenian S.P.	6,400	Rumania	12,600
Dantzig	3,500	Russia—	
Denmark	130,000	S.D.P.	?
Esthonia	..	S.R.P.	?
Finland	28,000	Spain	8,000
France	73,000	Sweden	138,500
Georgia	?	Turkey	..
Germany	869,000	Ukraine	?
Great Britain	3,126,000		

[1] Extract from the *Socialist Annual*, 1925.

SOCIALIST PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

	Total of Seats.	Socialists.	Communists.	Votes.
America	531	2	..	..
Argentine	..	16	..	80,529
Austria	165	68	..	1,311,870
Belgium	186	68	..	672,00
Bulgaria	250	29	7	..
Czecho-Slovakia—				
Czech S.P.	294	51	29	1,590,000
German S.P.		30		689,200
Ruthenian S.P.		1		..
Denmark	149	55	..	470,000
Esthonia	..	32	..	..
Finland	200	60	18	254,672
France	548	104	27	..
Germany	493	131	45	7,880,058
Great Britain	615	151	1	5,551,549
Holland	100	20	2	567,772
Hungary	245	24	..	272,359
Italy	535	25	17[1]	796,596
Jugo-Slavia	..	2	..	..
Latvia	100	31	..[2]	242,000
Lithuania	78	8	..	102,000
Luxemburg	..	6	..	..
Norway	150	8	6[3]	87,000
Poland	444	41	2	911,067
Rumania	369	1	..	..
Spain	408	7	..	50,000
Sweden	230	104	5[4]	725,844
Switzerland	..	43	2	..

[1] And 22 Maximalists.
[2] And 7 Mensheviks.
[3] And 24 "Labour Party."
[4] And 1 Independent Communist.

In America, Bulgaria, and France the socialist vote could not be traced owing to combinations with other parties.

It will be seen that numerically Germany, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Poland, and Sweden were the strongest socialist states.

By 1928, at the Third Congress of the L.S.I., which was held at Brussels and was attended by 600 delegates representing 32 countries, it was announced that 46 parties representing 36 countries were affiliated, their total affiliated

membership, votes, and parliamentary representation being as follows:

Countries.	Population in Millions	Membership of Affiliated Parties.	Votes of Parties affiliated to L.S.I.		Total Number of Members of Parliament.	Members of Parliament from Affiliated Parties.		Total Number of Members of the Upper House.	Upper House Members from Affiliated Parties.	
			Exact Number.	Per Cent.		Exact Number.	Per Cent.		Exact Number.	Per Cent.
A. Parties with Trade Unions as Collective Members.										
Great Britain	45·50	3,388,286	5,487,620	34·0	615	160	26·0	..	..	..
Belgium	7·88	597,971	820,650	39·4	187	78	41·7	153	60	39·2
Hungary	8·52	138,472	126,854	..	245	14	5·7	..	..	..
Iceland	0·1	4,900	6,000	..	42	5	11·9	..	..	..
British Guiana	0·31	1,073	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B. Parties based on Individual Membership.										
Germany	63·10	867,671	9,146,165	..	491	153	31·2	..	..	..
Austria	6·75	683,786	1,539,635	42·3	165	71	43·0	50	20	40·0
Sweden	6·07	202,338	725,844	40·9	230	105	45·7	150	52	34·7
Czecho-Slovakia	14·35	184,960	1,042,443	..	300	46	15·3	150	23	15·3
Denmark	3·48	148,492	497,106	37·2	149	53	35·6	76	25	32·9
France	40·93	99,106	1,692,960	..	612	100	16·3	300	17	5·7
Poland	29·59	63,406	1,115,000	..	444	69	15·5	111	10	9·0
Holland	7·53	52,904	706,704	22·9	100	24	24·0	50	11	22·0
Finland	3·55	37,722	257,572	28·3	200	60	30·0	..	..	..
Switzerland	3·96	36,072	195,768	25·0	198	49	24·8	44	2	4·5
Bulgaria	5·48	30,126	60,000	..	272	10	3·7	..	..	..
Palestine (Poale Zion)	0·86	22,500	..	..	201	54	26·9	..	..	..
America (U.S.)	118·02	15,000	(1,000,000)	..	435	1	0·2	96	0	..
Rumania	17·22	13,000	49,752	..	369	0	0·0	170	0	..
Argentine	10·35	10,000	90,000	..	158	2	1·3	30	1	3·3
Spain	22·29	7,964	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dantzig	0·40	5,418	61,588	..	120	42	35·0	..	..	..
Latvia	1·87	5,000	260,000	33·0	100	33	33·0	..	..	..
Esthonia	1·12	4,500	119,914	22·9	100	24	24·0	..	..	..
Yugo-Slavia	12·80	4,000	25,000	..	313	1	0·3	..	..	..
China	450·00	3,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Greece	7·00	2,800	7,800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portugal	5·78	2,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lithuania	2·25	2,000	(170,000)	..	(78)	(15)	19·2	..	..	..
Luxemburg	0·27	1,155	..	..	52	12	23·1	..	..	..
Total	..	6,637,622	25,568,209	..	6,176	1,181	19·1	..	..	..

Thus in the three years 1925–28 there was an increase in the membership of the affiliated parties of roughly half a million, or 8 per cent.

During this period (1924–29), Arthur Henderson was Chairman of the Executive of the L.S.I., Dr. Adler (Austria) was the Secretary, and M. van Roosbroeck (Belgium) the Treasurer. In 1929 Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) was elected Chairman, Dr. Adler continuing as Secretary.

The annual expenditure of the L.S.I. is about 225,000 Swiss francs annually (about £9,000), of which the British Labour Party contributes about £870 annually.

It should be mentioned here that the L.S I. has four distinct governing organisations, the greatest of which is the Congress, which meets every three years and is attended by about 600 delegates from all over the world. In non-Congress years a Conference of about 120 delegates is sometimes held; and when neither Congress nor Conference meets, there are quarterly meetings of the Executive, which consists of about 30 representatives. In the intervals between Executive meetings the Bureau of the L.S.I., consisting of 9 members (one each from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries), makes decisions. Broadly speaking, the Congresses and Conferences decide policy, whilst the Bureau and the Executive deal with the carrying out of such policy and immediate questions.

Sectional conferences are, of course, more frequent. A meeting of the representatives of the Belgian Labour Party, the British Labour Party, the French Socialist Party, and the German Social Democratic Party, for instance, was held on 8th and 9th February 1929, at Transport House, London, for the purpose of discussing the principal problems common to the four countries, notably Reparations and the Evacuation of the Rhineland. At this meeting the delegates agreed unanimously on the attitude to be adopted in the situation then prevailing, bearing in mind the general principles formulated in previous resolutions. This was followed by a meeting of the Executive, which adopted resolutions dealing with disarmament, minorities, solidarity, and May Day. These last two are worthy of repetition, not only for their ideas, but also for their language. The "Appeal for Solidarity" runs as follows:

"The Labour and Socialist Working Class is not advancing everywhere at the same pace.

"In Britain it is on the very threshold of power. In other countries, such as Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Norway and

Sweden, Germany, Austria, and France, it has a powerful influence in the State and on society. In Spain, the Socialist movement is retarded by the forces of a Dictatorship. Finally, we have countries in which the workers are deprived of their legal rights. In Italy, the blind fury of Reaction and Capitalism is destroying Socialists both mentally and physically.

" Unfortunately, the Workers are also being terrorised in Soviet Russia in the mistaken belief that by outlawing and coercing large numbers of the people, Socialist ideals can be realised. . . .

" The destruction of Democracy and the elimination of all public control in the countries governed by dictatorships constitute a most serious menace to World Peace.

" The manifestation of international solidarity is more important than ever, in order to preserve the power of resistance of the Socialists in countries without Democracy. Our comrades in countries without Democracy are showing the whole world an example of loyalty to their convictions. Pursued and persecuted, imprisoned and exiled, suffering cold and hunger, they hold fast to their Socialist opinions, even though the renunciation of their opinions would suffice to free them from persecution.

" We are aware that dictatorships and systems of terror are merely episodes in the history of the fight between Labour and Capital, and that Socialism will surmount these obstacles on the way to victory.

" We are helping to accelerate victory when we help our persecuted comrades. We are proud to number them amongst us. Their sacrifice, their heroic resistance, must not be in vain. In many cases our comrades must first have sufficient food and clothing to escape death from cold and starvation before they can take part in the political fight.

" The position of the deportees and those condemned by special tribunals on the Lipari Islands, and of prisoners in the Lithuanian prisons, demands a demonstration of our solidarity.

" In Poland there are thousands of men and women in gaol for political offences, many of them for demanding

cultural liberties for their nationalities. In Hungary and the Balkan countries, imprisonment is the frequent result of the expression of opinions in opposition to the views of the various Governments. In non-self-governing colonial territories agitation for national freedom is often met with imprisonment.

"But even in Soviet Russia, as the events in connection with Trotsky have recently revealed, Socialists, and even Communists who are not absolutely in agreement with the Government are, without any kind of investigation and without legal defence, declared to be counter-revolutionaries, thrown into prison by thousands, and banished to Siberia or Central Asia.

"These victims of the terror have to exist on an allowance of thirteen marks a month. Moreover, they are excluded from the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, with the result that every possibility of earning a living is taken from them, and they are placed outside the law with regard to the obtaining of food-stuffs.

"We cannot and will not allow our comrades in countries without Democracy to be thus abandoned to their fate.

"Moreover, who ought to befriend these terrorised comrades and give them assistance if not their Labour and Socialist comrades?

"For the support of comrades in countries without Democracy, the Labour and Socialist International has founded the Matteotti Fund, which is maintained by voluntary contributions.

"Let us strengthen the Matteotti Fund by every possible means! Every one can help, even by the smallest contributions!"

The conclusion of the May Day Manifesto, 1929, was as follows:

"A new generation is entering the ranks of the international proletariat, which has not itself known the horrors of war. It must be filled with a deep and intense horror of bloodshed; it must be enlisted in the battle against War

and Armaments. Therefore the proletariat as a whole must take as its watchword on the First of May :

" *Down with Armaments !*
" *Down with Imperialism and Militarism !*
" *Carry out the Disarmament Pledges !*
" *Draw up an effective Disarmament Treaty !*

" There is another undertaking which has been shamefully broken and which the Workers of all countries will have in mind on May the First. The International Labour Conference of 1919 adopted the International Convention of the Eight Hour Day. To-day, ten years later, the Governments of the greatest industrial States of the world still refuse to ratify this Convention and redeem the pledge which they then gave. The attack of British reaction against the Eight Hour Day was beaten back in the Geneva International Labour Organisation, but the accomplishment of the ratification in Great Britain will only be possible after a great Labour victory.

" In spite of the crushing weight of unemployment, in spite of the growing misery of the masses, the international forces of reaction are again seeking to prolong the hours of labour and so to consign the working class, in ever greater numbers, to the wretchedness entailed by unemployment.

" So on the First of May let our watchword be :

" *Down with the reactionary projects of the Employer Class !*
" *Ratify the Eight Hour Agreement !*

" On May the First let us think of our comrades in the countries in which a Fascist dictatorship prevails, who are fighting, amid terrible dangers, for the ideals of Socialism and Democracy, and send them our fraternal greetings.

" It is the duty of those Socialists who live under a regime of liberty to help their oppressed comrades by carrying on a more determined struggle against the enemies of their class in their own country.

" That powerful bulwark of international reaction, the Conservative Government of Great Britain, is already tottering. All the by-elections have shown that the Labour movement is marching irresistibly forward. In Belgium, Denmark,

and Holland too, the Socialist Parties are preparing for the fight with good hope of victory.

"The International Working Class must show, on the First of May, that all the intrigues of the reactionary forces are doomed to frustration by its power, and that it is ready to throw itself into the fight under the banner of the Labour and Socialist International:

"Against Fascist Reaction!
"For Democracy!
"For Socialism!"

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Whilst the L.S.I. had thus held three Congresses, the Communist International had held six "World Congresses," all in Moscow (1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1924, and 1926). Fifty-one parties representing fifty-one countries were affiliated by 1925, but it must be noted that some parties had a membership so insignificant as to vitiate any comparison with the L.S.I. Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Iceland, India, Ireland, Japan, Jugo-Slavia, Korea, Lithuania, Palestine, and South Africa had each an affiliated membership of less than 500.[1] Germany had the largest membership, 350,000, while Russia and Czecho-Slovakia followed with 244,000 and 130,000 respectively. No other affiliated party had a membership of more than 50,000. In India, China, and Japan there are small Communist Parties, which are considerably represented in the International—a factor which can only be fully appreciated when it is realised that Soviet Russia is the only power to-day which stands for racial equality and opposition to capitalist exploitation.

The scope and aim of the Communist International is:

"to lead and organise the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries, to fight for the adoption of Communist principles and aims by the majority of the working class and by large sections of the poor peasantry,

[1] Official Report of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.

for the formation of a world Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the total abolition of classes, and for the realisation of Socialism, which is the initial stage of the Communist social order."

The Statutes are preceded by an introduction drawn up by the Second World Congress, which includes the Twenty-one Points for affiliation, part of which reads as follows :

" (4) The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is forbidden by exceptional laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty, and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International.

" (6) Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obliged to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armament, no kind of a ' democratic ' renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

" (10) Every party belonging to the Communist International is obliged to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam International of the yellow Trade Unions. It must carry on a most emphatic propaganda amongst the workers organised in Trade Unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam International. With all its means it must support the rising international association of the red Trade Unions which affiliate with the Communist International.

" (11) Parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obliged to subject the personnel of the parliamentary groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the Party Executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament shall subordinate his

entire activities to the interests of genuinely revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

"(13) The Communist Parties of those countries where the Communists carry on their work legally must from time to time institute cleansings (new registrations) of the personnel of their party organisation in order systematically to rid the party of the *petit bourgeois* elements creeping into it.

"(21) Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party."

As may be imagined from the foregoing, the differences between the two Internationals are extremely acute, and are not likely to be lessened. When Dr. Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the L.S.I., was asked in February 1930, "*Is there a possibility of a unification of the Socialist and Communist Internationals?*" his answer ran:

"You are certainly aware that all the problems of the International Labour Movement are contained in this question, and that it is by no means possible to answer all their sides in a letter. I am one of those who are convinced that the final socialist aim towards which the Bolsheviks are in the last resort striving, is the same as the aim of the socialists, but that the paths to this goal are absolutely incompatible with one another. The Bolsheviks desire to bring the proletariat under the dictatorial domination of a clique of leaders which arrogates to itself a superior insight into the course of historico-economic development, whereas we socialists firmly adhere to the *right of self-determination* of the working class. On this point we can make no compromise whatever, and unity with the Bolsheviks is only possible if they adopt our point of view on this cardinal question. In the time immediately before us, no such change on the part of the Bolsheviks can be expected. It therefore appears to me quite Utopian to speak now of a unification of the L.S.I. with the Communist International. This, of course, does not mean that large sections of workers who still follow the Comintern are not renouncing the idea of the dictatorship over the proletariat and coming over to unity with the

socialist working class. But the organisational kernel of the Communist International, as far as can at present be seen, is a long way from being ready for this basic change in its relations to the working class. Compared with this basic difference, all other questions are of a secondary nature."[1]

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

No account of International Socialism would be complete without a reference to the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations, which came into being as the result of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. The I.L.O. was founded on two main beliefs: first, that there must be international co-operation in the industrial sphere in order to avoid suicidal and war-provoking competition; and secondly, that such co-operation must be based upon collaboration between the State, capital, and labour. Its aims were to draw up international agreements having the force of treaties, regulating and improving the lot of the worker, and to restrict the worst evils of the capitalist system.

From the socialist point of view this was a great advance, for formerly only Governments took part in international discussions which resulted in the creation of treaties: at the I.L.O. each country was represented by four delegates, two representing the State and one each representing the employers and the workers. Draft conventions or recommendations to become effective must be passed by a two-thirds majority of the I.L.O., and then become obligatory on the various States, whether their representatives have voted for it or not. In cases of default the matter can ultimately be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which can give judgment and suggest economic penalties against the offender.

The first of these conferences of the I.L.O. was held at Washington in October 1919; 39 countries were represented by 123 delegates, 73 of whom represented Governments, 25 employers, and 25 the workers. Six draft conventions and six recommendations were passed. The first draft conventions provided an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour

[1] *International Information*, 6th March 1930.

week in industrial undertakings, though in such cases as India and Japan considerable modifications were permitted, though greatly reducing the hours of labour then existing in those countries. Further conventions provided for the establishment of employment exchanges and other measures affecting unemployment, the regulation of child and woman labour, the treatment of immigrants, medical inspection of factories, and for measures against anthrax and lead-poisoning. Finally, an International Labour Office was established at London, and Albert Thomas, the French socialist leader, appointed its first director. His energy and capacity have made the I.L.O. a success.

At one bound, as it were, the industrial countries had achieved much of what socialists throughout the world had been fighting for for a quarter of a century or more, and in consequence reduced by that margin the effectiveness of many of the socialist programmes. Moreover, the aim of the I.L.O. is to create an international spirit that will realise " the brotherhood of man," and as Socialist Parties increase in power and prestige, so they will find that through the I.L.O. they can realise many of their ideals.

The second conference was held at Geneva in 1920, and was exclusively concerned with conditions of employment at sea. After this conference the International Labour Office was moved from London to Geneva.

In the following years the I.L.O., now holding the allegiance of fifty-five States, secured the ratification of the Washington Convention by fourteen countries, and investigated many questions affecting the workers' life, wages, hours, cost of living, unemployment, social insurance, industrial relations, and migration. Its task is to internationalise scientific, social, and economic research, and to secure economic justice. The magnitude of this work is hardly realised. Principles and methods have to be elaborated, uniform statistics obtained, and regular exchange of information ensured. No national administration could produce such results—without which not even Socialist Governments could bind together the peoples. In spite of vicious attacks by the capitalist Press, notably that of Great Britain in 1922–23, and attempts

to cut down the budget of the I.L.O., the organisation is to-day stronger than ever, thanks to the support given to it by the socialist movement and the more enlightened Governments of the Continent.

The Fourteenth International Labour Conference was held at Geneva in June 1930, when fifty-one delegates were present, and the main work of the Conference was the consideration of conventions dealing with forced labour, hours of labour for commercial employees, and hours of labour for coal miners.

In all, the annual Conferences have adopted 32 conventions and 33 recommendations, all embodying improvements in labour conditions. Three hundred and ninety ratifications of Conventions have already been registered, and the number grows steadily. On the whole, there is every prospect that the International Labour Organisation will acquire a recognised position as a World Parliament dealing directly with social and labour problems by means of international legislation, and this, perhaps, is one of the finest indirect achievements of socialist thought throughout the world.

CHAPTER XVII

The United States

THE development of socialism as a national movement in the United States has been comparatively recent, but socialist influences were early apparent in a community so deeply affected by European immigration. The Utopian communism of Owen and Fourier was faintly re-echoed in the United States by the establishment of numerous experimental colonies in the 'thirties, which, with the exception of a few having a definite religious basis, never progressed beyond the experimental stage, and were soon dissolved. Much more significant was the wave of German immigration which followed the failure of the 1848 revolution in Europe. Very Radical in sentiment, ardent adherents of Karl Marx, these immigrants did not forget their old beliefs in the new land, and it was their influence which gave the first impetus to socialism in America, and gave it at the same time a definitely foreign and Marxian flavour. A socialist newspaper, *Die Republik der Arbeite*, was founded in 1850 by William Weitling, and the new movement received additional strength after the conclusion of the Civil War by the establishment of branches of the International Working Men's Association in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. A financial panic in 1873 gave the party a text for the preaching of its Marxist doctrines; but its power dwindled rather than increased, and the Association was finally dissolved at Philadelphia three years later.

If socialism was to make any permanent impression on America, something more was needed. A party composed almost entirely of exiled German, French, and Hungarian Radicals aroused no sympathy in the typical American. A native movement, resulting from causes affecting intimately the mass of the people, could alone hope to prosper. This

native movement was long delayed, because in the America of the pre-Civil War period there were no urgent industrial problems to solve, and thus the soil was barren in which a national labour or socialist movement could flourish. In that period America was primarily an agricultural nation: its people were a pioneer people, looking ever West for more land to conquer, land free and fertile in itself, and generously responsive to any honest effort. Wages were high, there were no rigid class distinctions, and a " proletariat " was unknown. This was indeed the " gilded age " of American history, when labour disputes were never more serious than local misunderstandings, generally due to the large foreign element in the community. But the close of the Civil War marked a change. Industry leapt into life and developed to an astonishing extent within the space of a few years. America experienced an Industrial Revolution which had completely transformed conditions of life and labour before the end of the century, and brought with it all the evils necessarily associated with capitalism. Moreover, the engrossing national issue of slavery was removed, and labour problems for the first time began to arouse interest and attention.

In this new atmosphere the existing socialist movement, foreign in origin and constitution, seemed artificial and unsatisfactory, and various attempts were made to float a native Socialist Party. None of these efforts, however, could be regarded as attaining even a modicum of success. It was not until after the financial panic of 1873 that a national party, the Social Democratic Party, was launched, which in turn gave way in 1877 to the present Socialist Labour Party.

The new party was, however, hampered by its foreign adherents, and a fierce internal struggle with the Anarchists in its ranks was not finally successful until 1887. Nor could it avoid collision with the great unions which represented organised labour in America. The greatest of these were the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour, formed in 1869, which in the 'eighties numbered a million members, and the American Federation of Labour. Though the immediate programme of reform of these Labour organisations resembled that of the socialists in many respects, their development was

much more extensive. Both Labour bodies rejected the socialist demands for independent political action and other socialist resolutions which were regularly presented at their conventions. This lack of sympathy developed into an open quarrel with the Federation of Labour in 1890, and with the Knights of Labour (which had steadily declined since 1886) in 1895, when the leader of the latter broke his promise to appoint a socialist editor of the official organ. The Socialist Labour Party then sponsored a rival Union, the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, which, however, could never challenge comparison with the older Unions. The party ran a candidate for the Presidency in 1892, polling 21,512 votes—a number which increased to 82,214 in the election of 1896. This, however, was the high-water mark in the history of the Socialist Labour Party. The quarrels with the Labour Unions sapped its strength by provoking a good deal of hostile criticism within its own ranks, and the spirit of the party itself became narrow and aggressive. A fierce "purification" campaign to oust the malcontents caused a permanent split in the party, and although the remnant still remains under the same name, decreasing more and more in numbers, the discontented elements hastened to form a new and more moderate Socialist Party.

The break came at a peculiarly opportune time, when America, at the end of the nineteenth century, was seething with discontent. The older Republican and Democratic Parties seemed quite unsuited to meet the new issues, and the rise of trusts and the growth of great individual fortunes resulted in demands for a change in the traditional Government attitude of *laissez-faire*, protection for labour, and some amelioration of long hours, child labour, and insanitary conditions. The Homestead, Cœur d'Alêne, and Buffalo strikes of 1892, and the Pullman Car strike of 1894 were evidence of how pressing were these problems. Bellamy's socialistic novel, *Looking Backward*, published in 1887, the formation of Nationalist clubs, and the Society of Christian Socialists, founded by Professor R. T. Eley in 1889, were various manifestations of the same spirit of discontent—attempts to find a solution of the problems of the day in non-

political fields, since the politicians were unhelpful. But a return to politics was inevitable, and after two short-lived efforts, a new party, the Social Democratic Party of America, was formed by Eugene V. Debs in 1898. Debs had been a prominent Labour leader for many years, and had joined the Socialist ranks after serving a term of imprisonment for his activities during the Pullman Car strike. The new party was now joined by the rebels from the old Socialist Labour Party, and in the 1900 Presidential election, each wing had one candidate, Debs for President, and Harriman of the Socialist Labour Party for Vice-President. The socialist vote of 97,000, however, showed but little advance on the previous Presidential election. After the election, the alliance was made permanent, and the modern American Socialist Party was definitely launched. Until the Great War of 1914–18 broke out, its progress was considerable and very promising. The Presidential vote rose from 97,000 in 1900 to 409,230 in 1904, and 425,000 in 1908. The smaller increase in 1908 was due to a certain radical tinge in the old parties themselves

In the State elections of 1910, startling gains were made in Wisconsin, always the strongest Socialist State. The socialists obtained control of the city and county government of Milwaukee, increased their representation in the State Senate by two, and by twelve in the Lower House, and in 1911 elected Victor Berger, an Austrian exile, as the first socialist in the National House of Representatives. Similar gains were made in the State legislatures of North Dakota, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania; and in the Presidential election of 1912, the socialists more than doubled their previous figures by polling 898,000. More conservative Americans now began to be seriously alarmed at the rapid rise of the Socialist Party.

Meanwhile, the American Labour Union had been formed in 1904, and in 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World was founded under William D. Haywood, whose aim was to unite all industrial workers into one big union, and to conquer capitalism by a series of mass strikes and sabotage. They represented a change from the old theory of pacifist pro-

paganda to one of direct action. Thus, by 1912, there were in existence in America two political Socialist Parties—the feeble Socialist Labour Party and the powerful American Socialist Party—and four great organisations: the Federation of Labour, the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, the American Labour Union, and the syndicalist I.W.W. The socialist parties boasted a total vote of nearly a million for the Presidential elections, and their power seemed to be growing apace.

The outbreak of the European War in 1914 crippled the socialist cause in America. New and larger issues were before the people; old allegiances were forgotten, and sympathy for one side or the other, and rival demands for war or peace, in many cases effaced the old party lines. In 1916 the only issue that mattered was the peace issue, and many socialists supported President Wilson in their anxiety to keep America out of the war. Even their own candidate, Allan Benson, recommended socialists to support Wilson for the second vote. One faction of the party followed Marx's theories into strict practice, and denounced the war as a capitalists' quarrel; but when America herself entered the war, the majority of the American Socialist Party, including the leaders, in common with the American Federation of Labour, supported President Wilson in his policy. In return, Union Labour was given a position in national affairs, and its standards of hours and wages accepted.

After the war the socialists were further crippled by internal dissension, and in September 1919 the Left wing dissociated itself from the main body, and later formed the Communist Party, owning allegiance to the Moscow International. A wave of feeling against "Radicals" throughout America resulted in the conviction of many of the socialist leaders under the Espionage Act. Victor Berger, who had lost his seat in Congress in 1913, but had regained it in 1918, was convicted of conspiracy against the draft law, sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, and was thus unable to take his seat in Congress. He was re-elected in 1919, but again refused admission, until 1923, when his sentence was reversed by the Supreme Appeal Court. He

frequently represented the American Socialist Party at International Congresses until his death in 1929.

The American Socialist Party, however, in spite of the Government terrorism andthe division in its ranks provoked by the Communists, polled nearly a million votes in the 1920 Presidential election, with Eugene V. Debs as standard-bearer; but at the next election in 1924, there was no Independent Socialist candidate, the party giving its official support to Senator La Follette in an attack on trusts and monopolies and the policy of imperial advance in the Caribbean and Orient. Great hopes were entertained of the party's advance in the 1928 election, with Norman Thomas as candidate. But the new issue of an attack on Prohibition, and the violence of the religious feelings which were aroused by the Democratic candidate, Alfred Smith, completely absorbed the attention of the electorate, and the socialist candidate only polled about 300,000 votes, or a solitary 1 per cent. of the votes cast.

It cannot be denied that the growth of socialism as a political force in the United States has been disappointingly slow. The hatred of alien revolutionary socialism, the early acquisition of political rights, the late industrial development which kept land open to the people until quite recently and deferred modern labour problems, are all reasons for this weakness. But the fundamental reason is that self-help is not unnaturally the ideal in a country where individual fortunes are easily made. Moreover, American socialism has been for the main part excessively doctrinaire Marxism—a very curious contrast with the purely practical socialism of Australia.

The party membership at present numbers 15,000, compared with 58,000 in 1910, and the party has had only one representative, Victor Berger, in Congress. An attempt is being made to start youth organisations, and there is now a small nucleus of 1000 members, covering several States, organised as the Young People's Socialist League.

There are many who think that the United States' prosperity is fictitious, and that the presence of over three million unemployed in the country is sufficient evidence

of a prolonged industrial crisis. America at the moment desires to perpetuate the regime of individualism, and the task of socialists is hard. The gestation of an elephant is more difficult than that of a mouse, and to try and build up a Labour Party and to spread socialist propaganda throughout a new continent is a far harder task than to do it in one of the Balkanised States of the new Europe.

CHAPTER XVIII

Central and South America

IN Central and South America socialism is taking hold very slowly on account of the prevalence of internal eruptions and military dictatorships, but in one or two countries socialist organisations have existed for over thirty years. The Argentine led the way in 1892, but for twenty years progress was slow. At the elections of 1912 two socialist members were returned for Buenos Ayres with a vote of 18,844. Meanwhile, Trade Unionism had grown considerably, but its tendency towards anarchism led to severe repressive measures. During the war years and the years immediately following the war, the party grew steadily, until by 1926 it had 19 representatives in the Chamber and 2 in the Senate. But in the August of the following year the party split: 8 of the members remained with the "Partido Socialista," whilst 11 went over to the newly formed "Partido Socialista Independiente." The elections held in the early part of 1928 demonstrated how much this division had cost the movement, for the "Socialists" secured only 2 seats in the Chamber of Deputies out of 158, and 1 in the Senate out of 30, while the "Independent Socialists" returned 8 for the Chamber and none for the Senate. In the following two years both parties increased in power and influence, and in the elections of March 1930 considerable gains were made, the total socialist vote increasing from 93,000 in 1928 to 190,000 in 1930. One additional socialist was elected and 10 Independent Socialists.[1]

To-day the Partido Socialista has a membership of over

[1] Half the parliament is renewed every two years, but the peculiar electoral system does not permit public opinion to be accurately recorded.

10,000 distributed among 250 branches scattered over the whole vast area of the Republic, and a voting strength of about 81,000. The party is particularly strong in the province of Buenos Ayres. At the municipal elections of November 1927 a remarkable campaign was witnessed in the municipality of Mar del Plata, where the socialists had been in a majority for some ten years. The party had to encounter not only a tremendously strong attack from the Conservatives, but also sharp attacks from the more extreme " Independent Socialist Party." Over 91 per cent. of the electorate voted, and the resulting socialist victory was a great testimony to the growth of the movement.

In the Presidential elections of 1928 the Socialist Party put forward Mario Bravo for the office of President, and Nicolas Repetto for the Vice-Presidency. The Conservatives, Democrats, and Radicals formed a Coalition, called the " United Front," with Dr. Leopoldo Melo as their candidate. A third candidate was the veteran Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen, who issued no programme and made no speeches, and so secured an overwhelming victory! The Irigoyenists were successful even in Buenos Ayres, the socialist stronghold, and the socialist vote was disappointingly small. But in August 1930 Irigoyen was replaced by General Uriburu after a *coup d'état,* and it would seem that further difficulties have been placed in the way of a socialist advance.

MEXICO

In Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and other South American States there is little socialism, political aspirations being rather to upset the existing President. The Presidential campaign of 1928 in Mexico, for instance, started in 1927 with three candidates in the field : General Obregon, who had already arranged with President Calles (the existing President) for the succession, General Serrano, and General Gomez. The campaign began with disorders due to terrorism of the supporters of Generals Serrano and Gomez, who in turn led a revolt. Serrano was captured in September and executed. This severity led to further revolts, and in October General Gomez was defeated in a pitched battle, leaving Calles master of the situation.

Obregon, representing the Agrarians, was now sole candidate, and in opposition to him Señor Luis Morones, the Secretary for Commerce and Industry and the most powerful member of the Government next to the President, organised the Labour Party and the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers (commonly called the "Crom"), of which he was head. Calles, however, refused to allow a new candidate to appear, and on 1st July 1928, Obregon was "elected." His triumph, however, was short, for on 17th July he was assassinated by a Catholic. The Obregonists immediately asserted that the murder had been instigated by the Labour Party, and feeling ran high. On 21st July, Morones and two other Labour members of the Government resigned.

In September the Congress elected Señor Gil, a civilian, as Provisional President, who from the first met with opposition from Morones and the "Crom," owing to the severe censorship and the threat to suppress the Unions affiliated to the "Crom."

In order to regularise the situation, another Presidential election was held in November 1928, when, after possibly the most peaceful election in Mexican history (only 100 casualties altogether, including a score killed), Señor Rubio was elected President after fully 15 per cent. of the electorate had voted—the highest yet recorded in Mexican elections.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps surprising that socialism flourishes at all on Mexican soil.

In some other Central and South American States similar conditions prevail; in several of them Socialism and Communism are rigorously repressed. In Chile, for instance, where parliamentary government is continually breaking down, Colonel Ibanez, who established a military dictatorship in 1927, deported all the known Communists to an island of the Juan Fernandez group, where they were permitted to establish their own Communist Utopia under police supervision.

CHAPTER XIX

SOCIALISM IN ASIA

THERE is less socialism in Asia than in any one of the other four continents, and the reason is not far to seek. America, Africa, and Australia have been conquered or colonised by the peoples of European stock, who had in their blood, as it were, the germs of democratic government; whereas Asia, with its population of over 1,013,000,000, which exceeds that of the rest of the world, has in its blood the love of autocracy and a philosophic voluptuousness that provide a barren, or at least a hard and stony ground for the seeds of socialism. The typical Asiatic (if there be such an individual) is not so gregarious as his Western brother, and certainly much more indifferent both to poverty and materialistic expansion.

Japan, however, is the great exception, for this island power that has adopted Western civilisation with a fury that seems incredible, is more open to Western ideas. Socialism in Japan dates from 1897, for in that year Professor Sen Katayama began to teach socialism and trade unionism. Whilst, however, the holding of socialistic opinions was virtually persecuted from the outset, trade unionism began and flourished until it was practically prohibited by Article 17 of the Police Regulations of 1900. After that date both socialism and trade unionism were vigorously repressed until the post-war years.

In 1901 a Social Democratic Party was formed in Tokio, but was promptly dissolved by the police, and socialist newspapers, which had made sporadic appearances, were likewise suppressed and their editors imprisoned.

Another attempt at organisation was begun in 1906, but when socialists assisted in a strike against the Tokio tram

fares, a dozen of them were imprisoned and their society broken up. A further incident showing the Government's attitude towards socialists was furnished in 1911, when Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and ten companions were secretly tried and executed. Kotoku, a scientist of international repute, was charged with having conspired to assassinate the Emperor. He was admittedly a Tolstoyan Anarchist, and it is believed that there was an actual bomb; but to the European mind the evidence against him was very slight, and it is doubtful if even the high ideal of loyalty prevalent in Japan justified such savage and wholesale punishment.

In the following decade Japan advanced still farther in her self-imposed task of creating for herself a new civilisation which should unite the best features of the East and West. But, as was inevitable, the era of capitalism was accompanied by all its attendant evils. Capitalists and factories seemed to spring up over-night, the cost of living soared to a height that wages and salaries could never hope to reach. Democratic government now, in the war years, became the central idea of the people—an ideal which was strengthened by the Allies' assertion that the war was a democratic crusade against despotism. Discontent grew.

The Police Regulations of 1900 were still in force, but, despite opposition and persecution, strikes began to be frequently organised. In 1917 there were no less than 417, which involved 66,000 workers, and by 1918 the number had increased to 497. These were mostly successful, so successful in some trades that the wages were nearly trebled, while all workers benefited by the resultant improved conditions in the factories. The village fisherwomen of the small coastal town of Toyama were responsible for a whole series of strikes. Their patience was exhausted by the everlasting rise in the price of rice, and a "rice riot" was started. This was a spark which caused a national conflagration, and strikes broke out in rapid succession at Nagoya, Kobe, Osaka, and Tokio—the workers in desperation resorting to wholesale riot and the destruction of machinery, until troops were called out by the Government.

As a result, as many as two hundred new labour organisa-

tions came into being, while the Yuaikwai, or Labourers' Friendly Society, founded in 1912, grew much stronger. To meet this extraordinary development, the Government encouraged the establishment of the Labour and Capital Harmonising Association (Roski Kyocho Kwai). This, however, met with Labour opposition, and was not a success.

The virile Yuaikwai now changed its name to Nihon-Rodo-Sodomei (Japanese Federation of Labour), and adopted a programme including the eight-hour day, a six-day week, and universal suffrage. Its strength grew from year to year, but various attempts to form a regular parliamentary party met with no success, because of the dissension between the moderate and extreme elements.

The passing of a law establishing universal manhood suffrage in 1924 considerably helped the socialist movement —for the 250,000 Trade Unionists now turned their attention to politics, and another Labour Party was originated: the Government, however, promptly suppressed it as a Communist organisation. In 1926 another effort was made, and the Rodonominto, or Labour and Agricultural Workers' Party, was started, and a few months later the Nipponominto—a moderate Socialist Working Farmers' Party—was formed.

Manhood suffrage came into operation in 1927, and at the Prefectural elections in September, at which half the new electors did not vote, 376 Labour candidates were put up, but only 26 elected.

In the general election to the House of Representatives of February 1928—the first to be held under the new law that increased the electorate from 3,000,000 to 11,000,000, the result was as follows:

	Before.	After.
Seiyukai (Government) .	188	221
Minseito	219	214
Independents . . .	57	16
Labour		8
Others		7
	464	466

Eighty-one per cent. of the electorate voted, the five Labour groups securing 502,000 votes, or 10 per cent. of the total.

The authorities were now very concerned with the spread of Communism, and in March 1928 an extensive "round-up" of a thousand Communists was made, and twenty-six committed to trial. The death penalty was introduced as a penalty for "conspiracy," and every effort made to stamp out Communist organisations.

In July 1929 the Seiyukai ministry fell, and the Minseito formed a minority Government. The following elections of February 1930 gave the Minseito a clear majority over all parties, the returns being :

Minseito	273
Seiyukai	174
Labour	5
Independents	5
Others	9
	466

By comparison with 1928 the Labour parties fared badly, the exact figures being as follows :

	1928.		1930.	
	Number of seats in the House.	Votes cast.	Number of seats in the House.	Votes cast.
Social Democratic Party	4	128,756	2	170,386
Japanese People's Party	1	86,975	2	165,298
Labour and Agricultural Workers' Party	2	193,028	1	78,548

Both the Social Democratic Party, who lost two of their seats, and the Japanese People's Party increased their number of votes, but the Labour and Agricultural Party on the other hand lost 115,000 votes.

The Labour losses were due to over-confidence and to the lack of a sound electoral basis. Nevertheless, the five proletarian seats cost 100,000 votes each, as compared with an average of 20,000 for each of the Minseito seats. Their

failure may be due in part to their divisions—for of the 96 Labour candidates, 73 represented four different parties, and 23 were unattached—as well as to the curious working of the modified system of proportional representation which here obtains. But after all excuses have been made, the fact that Labour could only elect five of its candidates, and that two of its leaders—Mr. Abe, the leader of the Social Democrats, and Mr. Suzuki, the President of the Japanese Federation of Labour—were defeated, seem to show that European and Japanese observers have greatly overrated the working-class movements in Japan.

These elections were preceded by the inauguration of a new Labour Party (Ronoto), which took place in Tokio on 1st November 1929. Those in charge of the Congress were warned by the police that if any disturbance took place the meeting would at once be stopped. Consequently, extraordinary precautions were taken to keep out political opponents, and the proceedings were orderly. Meanwhile, the campaign against "dangerous thought" still continues, and Communists find life outside prison very adventurous if they wish to avoid arrest.

In Japan, socialists have not quite the same problems as the West with which to contend; while much of the social unrest in Japan has been relieved by their peculiar national characteristics of individual sacrifice, self-negation, and self-restraint.

In spite of the disunity and ineffectiveness among the Labour forces, Japan has passed some labour and social legislation on European lines, but much remains yet to be done.

CHINA

In China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the inspirer of the revolution of 1912, who at first shared with Yuan Shi Kai the control of the nation, predicted in March 1912 that "the Chinese Government would be the most socialistic Government of the century"; but amidst the present chaos of the country socialism is forbidden, and socialist societies are dissolved in some provinces. The party was organised in 1912 at a

Congress at Nankin attended by 3000 persons, where was started a socialist daily paper, the *Chinese Republican*, edited by Dr. Sun Yat Sen's private secretary, and published in Shanghai. At the present time, China is represented on the Third International, but still requires many elementary political necessaries before it can undertake constructive socialism.

In regard to the other States of Asia—India (which is dealt with elsewhere), Persia, Armenia, Afghanistan, Tibet, etc.—it is almost true to say that in these countries socialism is practically non-existent, although Persia in the years immediately preceding the Great War had one socialist member in the Mejliss or Parliament, and in September 1911, the "Social Democratic Party of Persia" addressed an appeal to the International Socialist Bureau.

Armenia has a revolutionary organisation, which was formed in 1890, and which from 1918 to 1920 was the dominant party in the short-lived Armenian Republic. The Russian successes of 1920, however, led to the break-up of the party, and the imprisonment and outlawry of its leaders.

Since 1923, Armenia has been divided between Kemalist Turkey and the U.S.S.R. Under these conditions, the Revolutionary Federation of Armenia is continuing its struggle against both the Kemalist and Soviet Governments, while pursuing unswervingly its policy for the reunion of the two parts of Armenia and the realisation of the independence of a unified Armenia.

Only in Tibet is it possible for the die-hard capitalist to find a country where socialism is absolutely non-existent; but then, marvellous to relate, capitalism also is unknown

CHAPTER XX

Socialism in the British Commonwealth

AUSTRALIA

ALTHOUGH socialism, as this brief account shows, was born and bred in Europe, there is no clime where it has so much flourished, or given rise to so many experiments, as in Australia and New Zealand, and even Canada and South Africa have much to teach the world regarding collectivist experiments. In Australia and New Zealand the socialism practised is more typical of English socialism than that of any other country, nor is this surprising. These dominions are peopled almost exclusively by Anglo-Saxon stock—men who brought with them all the traditions of self-government and democracy, but without the aristocratic tinge such as pervades England, or the alien elements of the United States. Under such happy conditions the workers of Australia and New Zealand have been able to evolve Government institutions which have been extensively copied by other countries—a sure tribute to their success.

With the grant of self-government to the various Australian States in 1860 (with the exception of West Australia, which did not receive self-government until 1890), the people elected Governments whose first duty was to develop the new continent—a development that should not take place on imperialist lines, but on lines that should best help the community. Individual settlers could undertake some of these tasks, but there were many that were beyond their powers, and in these cases it seemed perfectly natural that they resort to the State for assistance—a State which could, of course, procure the necessary capital for development more easily and more cheaply than private people. Hence, all the Governments of Australia in the years preceding the

Great War undertook, without any underlying theory or principle, vast socialistic measures, from the building of railways to such detailed services as the export of butter, mutton, apples, and rabbits.

Up to 1880 the Labour organisations in Australia were primarily Trade Unions, whose fundamental aims were to secure adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, while the Government was in the hands of the Conservative and Liberal Parties, who wrangled freely over the questions of secular *versus* religious education, protective tariffs as opposed to revenue tariffs, vote by ballot, adult male suffrage, the abolition of transportation with the assignment of convicts, and the free selection of lands before survey. By 1880 all these questions were settled, and from 1880 to 1890 the political choice of the workers in Australia was governed by the personal popularity and fitness of the candidates. For a period the women's vote was a prominent question, and this took a little longer to settle—Victoria, in 1908, being the last State to grant the vote to women.

Right throughout this period there was one question in which the Labour Unions in Australia took the greatest interest—the effect on wages of imported labour, or immigrants, especially Chinese—and this question lasted from the beginning of the gold rush in 1850 to the end of the century—the Restriction Acts that were then passed being the first legislative triumph of the Labour Party. The feeling was universal throughout Australia that the Chinese should by some means or other be prevented from swarming into the country, but to the suggestion that Asiatics should be precluded from entering, the Imperial Government wisely pointed out that it could permit no discrimination between the various portions of the Empire. If Australia could prohibit immigrants from Shanghai, Wei-hai-Wei, or India, then Canada might equally well prohibit Australians. The solution is almost humorous—though radically unfair to the Chinese. The various States passed laws about 1890 which permitted the immigration authorities to exclude any person who could not write fifty words from dictation "in a prescribed language." As the language selected was usually a European one, the ban was

sufficiently effective to exclude practically all would-be immigrants born in Asia.

Meanwhile, in 1885 William Lane, an Englishman of high ideals and lofty character, who had settled in Queensland in 1883, started a socialist paper called *The Boomerang*, which was highly successful. He set himself to convert Trade Unionists to socialism, and was materially assisted by other immigrants from the Old Country, like Tom Mann, who already had pronounced socialist opinions.

In 1890 occurred the great strike of sheep shearers, mainly in Queensland, which later extended to the shipping and other industries. The failure of this strike was the prime cause which brought the Australian Labour Party into the political field with candidates of its own. Trade Unionism having received such a complete set-back, the workers turned to political action, and socialism received a great impetus. New South Wales set the example that year with the formation of a Labour Electoral League. In the following year the League surprisingly secured the return, mainly on the one-man-vote issue, of 35 members to a house of 125—an astonishing victory for a new party. The Conservatives and Liberals were returned in about equal numbers, so that the Labour Party, had it been united, could have wielded tremendous power, but it split on the question of protection : the astute politicians in power were thus able to manipulate it at critical moments, and its effectiveness and unity were destroyed. The result was the decision of the party to exact a " solidarity pledge " from each of its parliamentary candidates, by which, in return for the support of the machine, the candidates promised to vote with the majority of the parliamentary party as the majority might decide. In the succeeding elections of 1894 the numbers were reduced from 35 to 19, but the 19 were " solidarity " men under a strong " caucus " control, with the result that the Labour Party became increasingly effective. No alliances were permitted with other parties.

Meanwhile Lane, disillusioned by the conduct of Labour members, left Australia to found an idealistic colony in Paraguay on communal lines. Cosme Colony failed, as

Owen's experiments in this direction had failed, because human nature was too strong. Lane returned to Australia in 1899, but his influence had disappeared in the interval.

The other States of Australia all had Labour Parties after 1890, which gradually and steadily grew at the expense of the older parties, until in 1911 there were Labour Governments in four States. Queensland led the way with a Labour Coalition Government from July 1903 to November 1907 and from February 1908 to 1912. West Australia followed with a Labour ministry from August 1904 to October 1905, and from October 1911 to 1917. Then came South Australia with a Labour Government from July 1905 to June 1906, and from June 1910 to February 1912. Finally, New South Wales had a Labour Government from October 1911 to 1916.

It is worth while noting in passing that South Australia, possibly the most progressive State, confined its membership to manual workers only, in spite of many attempts to admit brain workers.

Victoria—although here, as in Tasmania, the Labour Party did not attain to power in pre-war years[1]—led the way in factory legislation. The Acts of 1873, 1896, 1903, 1905, and 1907 formed a complete industrial code, in which the principle of State regulation of wages was recognised and established. Under the Acts, "Special Boards" of employers and employees, with an independent Chairman, could fix minimum wage rates and hours of labour. Before the end of 1906, no less than fifty-two different trades had obtained these "Special Boards." South Australia adopted the system in 1900 by an Act which amended the Factory Act of 1894.

In the years immediately preceding the Great War, in three of the Australian States the Labour Party had a majority in the Lower Houses and formed the Governments; but Queensland, as we have seen, had reverted to an anti-Labour Government.

Furthermore, each of the States of Australia have had

[1] But in 1900 two Labour members joined the Ministry, and in 1913 Mr. Elmslie formed a Labour ministry which lasted only a few days.

Labour Governments in the post-war years, and have produced socialist legislation of a very interesting kind. Queensland, which had Labour Governments from 1915 to 1929, introduced, under Messrs. Ryan, Theodore, Gillies, and Mc Cormack successively, state insurance, state ownership of coal mines, state cattle stations, butchers' shops, fish supply, produce agencies, canneries, refreshment-rooms, and even a state hotel. All of these, with the exception of the cattle stations, have been commercial successes. Even though the state butchers' shops sell meat at an average of 4¾d. per lb., they have accumulated £75,000 in profits since their inception.

In May 1929, however, the Labour Government in Queensland was signally defeated, the state of the parties before and after the elections being as follows :

	Before.	After.
Labour	43	29
Country Party . . . } Nationalist Party . . }	29	43

The chief cause of the defeat was the growing division between the "Right" and "Left" sections of the party, which came to a head during the trade disputes of 1927, when the railwaymen on the Queensland State Railways refused, in sympathy with striking sugar workers, to handle "black" goods. A number of them were suspended, and the Union took up their case. Thereupon Mr. McCormack, "owing to the hostility of the Railwaymen's Union," proclaimed a lockout, which affected 11,000 men.

After a short but bitter struggle, in which the railwaymen were defeated, the men agreed, as a condition of being allowed to resume work, to sign a statement undertaking in future to observe the rules of the railway administration. The result was to arouse an intense resentment against the Premier, and although he succeeded in obtaining votes of confidence both from the Parliamentary Party and from the Party Conference, the hostile feeling remained, and was one of the main causes of the overwhelming defeat of Labour at the polls.

There were Labour Governments in both South Australia and New South Wales until 1927, and in every State except Victoria at the end of 1925. In New South Wales the influence of the Labour Party has been evident in the adoption of laws extending the arbitration system. The State of Victoria operates a coal mine which produces an annual profit of about £74,000. In the Victorian elections of 1929 the Labour Party came into office with a working majority of two votes. West Australia had a Labour Government from 1924 to 1930, under Mr. Collier, but the elections of March 1930 deprived the Labour Party of its majority; whilst in South Australia, in April 1930, the Labour Party secured an overwhelming victory.

The main interest of socialism in Australia lies, however, in the history of the Australian Commonwealth. The Commonwealth was formally inaugurated on 1st January 1901, and with it there came into existence the Commonwealth Labour Party. From the first, caucus control was strong, with undoubted advantages to the party; but it is noteworthy that the "solidarity pledge" only applies to questions on which the fate of the Government depends.

In the first Federal Parliament (1901) the Labour Party held the balance of power between the followers of the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Edmund Barton, and the Free Traders under Sir George Reid. The Opposition and the Government both sought the votes of the Labour Party, and as each in turn supported measures that were in accordance with Labour policy, so Labour support was given.

In the second Commonwealth Parliament the Government following was reduced, while the Labour Party increased; this led to a change of Government, and in 1904 the first minority Labour Government in the world came into office, under the leadership of the Hon. J. C. Watson—one of the most remarkable men of Australian public life. Born in 1867 of poor Scottish parents, who were then emigrating to Australia, he had none of the advantages of modern education; but eventually his wisdom, tact, and resolution brought him to the head of the Labour Party and the distinction of

being the first Labour Prime Minister in the world. His administration only lasted for four months, however, the other two parties coalescing to defeat it.

At the third general election in 1907, the Labour Party increased its representation, and lent its support to the protectionist party until the tariff question was settled. Watson then retired (1907) from the leadership of the Labour Party, and Mr. Andrew Fisher (1862–1928) donned the discarded mantle.

Like Watson, Fisher also was of Scottish parentage, being born at Crosshouse, Kilmarnock, in 1862. After nine years as a miner, during which he worked alongside Keir Hardie in the same Ayrshire pit, he emigrated to Queensland in 1885, and eight years later was elected to the Queensland legislature. He was Minister of Railways in the short-lived Dawson Ministry of 1899, and in 1901 he was elected member of the Commonwealth Parliament. In Watson's Cabinet of 1904, he was Minister for Trade and Customs. Within a year of assuming the leadership, Fisher became Prime Minister, but his administration only lasted seven months, from November 1908 to June 1909. The first two Labour Governments had held office for too short a time and under too many handicaps to achieve any great reforms.

At the general election of 1910, however, mainly owing to the public dislike of the Coalition, the Labour Party was returned with a working majority, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the world saw the Labour Government installed for the first time with a majority of its own. Fisher's second Ministry, which held office from May 1910 to June 1913, had thus greater opportunities, and it proceeded on Fabian rather than on Marxian lines. Curiously enough, the most important problem it tackled was the problem of defence. Fisher promptly adopted Lord Kitchener's report of 1909, passed a measure establishing universal military training, and took steps to create an Australian navy.

The path of the Labour Government was by no means strewn with roses. In May 1911 the Government submitted to a direct poll of the people certain amendments to the

Federal Constitution which were necessary to enable it to carry out its policy. The amendments sought to give the Federal Parliament power to deal with wages and conditions of labour, labour disputes, trading corporations, combinations, and monopolies. A further proposed amendment of the Constitution was to give the Commonwealth Parliament the power to declare that any business was a " monopoly," and to acquire it for the State on the payment of just terms. By a majority of about 250,000 votes on a poll of 1,115,000, however, the people refused to accept the amendments. The Labour Government thus had its wings drastically clipped, and few flights into the realm of pure socialism were permitted. The soaring, eagle-like ambitions of the Australian Labour Party were restricted to the more homely divagations of the barn-yard cockerel.

In 1912 the Labour Government of Australia created the Commonwealth Bank, which is now one of the most important banks in the world. Starting with no capital, it has to-day (1930) a reserve fund of nearly £6,000,000, and is making profits at the rate of £700,000 per annum. As there are no private shareholders, half these profits are added to various reserves, and the other half goes to the extinction of the Australian National Debt. For the rest, the Labour Government passed Acts nationalising monopolies and making arbitration compulsory, but otherwise its achievements were mainly of the social reform kind with a strong nationalistic bias.

The result of the succeeding general election of 1913 was to give the Liberals a majority in the House of Representatives, while the Labour Party retained its majority in the Senate. Just before the outbreak of the World War, the Parliament was dissolved by the Governor-General, and the result was to bring Fisher back to the Premiership. Fisher promptly took vigorous action for Australia's participation in the war, but at the end of 1915 he resigned, and later took up the High Commissionership in London in succession to Sir George Reid. In 1926 he retired, and died in 1928.

The leadership of the Labour Government fell, in 1915, to

William Hughes—one of the best-hated men of the Antipodes. Hughes was a Welshman who, at the age of twenty, had emigrated to Australia, and had entered the New South Wales Parliament, at the age of thirty, in 1894. He was elected to the first Commonwealth Parliament, and held office in the Labour ministries of 1904, 1908–9, 1910–13, and 1914–16. Though delicate in health, and, in later years somewhat handicapped by deafness, Hughes was first and foremost a fighter. He promptly advocated conscription (twice rejected by a referendum)—thereby incurring the resentment of his own party, which, in 1917, refused to re-elect him leader. But Hughes had previously effected a Coalition with Mr. Cook, the Liberal leader, and in his reconstructed Cabinet many of his former Labour colleagues held posts. Hughes, in fact, like Lloyd George in England, could afford to ignore the wishes and aspirations of the greater portion of his previous colleagues. He now became a member of the British Imperial War Cabinet, and spent a great deal of his time—too much, many Australians thought—in England, where he acquired great popularity. In Australia he incurred the suspicion of "playing to the London gallery"—the deadliest charge which could be brought against a Dominion statesman. The Australians are fervently loyal to the King and the Empire, but "Downing Street interference" is a bugbear and a terror.

Already, in 1917, Hughes had definitely severed his connection with the Labour Party, and when the general election came in 1919, his Coalition, now called the "Country Party," decisively beat the Labour remnant. But Hughes, like Lloyd George again, was not too happy in playing Coriolanus to an admixture of Protectionists and Free Traders, whilst his own familiar comrades were defeated by his genius. In 1923 he resigned the Prime Ministership, after having held it for eight years. In spite of his deafness, Hughes was marvellously alert as a thinker, and, above all, a masterly and vigorous political fighter. Under his leadership Australia had dropped the socialist policies and development that had made her the world leader in the pre-war years, and had entered on a super-patriotic and militant course that had

eventually resulted in the acquisition of the ex-German territories in the Pacific.

We must here notice two great collectivist experiments that were developed during this period, and which have given rise to much controversy. Most of the Australian railways are nationalised. Much has been said to their detriment by anti-socialists, but here is what Mr. Bruce, the Australian Conservative Premier, informed a meeting of London bankers on 16th November 1926 :

" Australia's railways, as Government institutions, have enabled development to precede and pave the way for settlement instead of the slow, wasteful, and often socially unfortunate method of allowing settlement to precede development. The railways have proved to be tremendously effective agencies for developing our latent national assets, and for opening up avenues for private investment and enterprise, thus making a very great indirect as well as a direct contribution to the national wealth."

He then proceeded to show that while Australia had a greater railway mileage than Great Britain, the capital cost of Australian railways is £293 millions, while the capital represented by the four great British systems is £1060 millions, and he added :

" Although, as a matter of national policy, some railways have been built in Australia which, it was clearly foreseen, could not operate on a commercial basis, the financial position of the railways as a whole is thoroughly satisfactory. Our railways return revenue sufficient to pay all working expenses, to keep the lines in excellent repair, and to meet nearly the whole of the interest on their capital cost. In 1924 the earnings of the State Railways, after covering all expenses, provided a sum for interest equal to 4¼ per cent. on capital, and a fractional increase in freights and fares would have covered the present slight deficiency of interest and created surpluses for the relief of taxation."

Another piece of nationalisation, which has given rise to much debate, was the Commonwealth Shipping Line, which produced a net loss of £8,000,000. But even from this figure there must be deducted great savings which the State

Line made in Australia. To quote Mr. Bruce again, as reported in the Australian *Hansard* of 10th July 1923 :

" Shortly after the Line was established it was carrying Australian wheat to London at £7, 10s. per ton, at a time when British shipowners were charging £13 and more and foreign charters were as high as £15 per ton. The Commonwealth Line's rates were a considerable benefit to the Australian farmer."

In the Report of the Investigation Committee appointed by the Australian Government, there is an account of how the Commonwealth Line prevented further freight increases by the Shipping Combine. In November 1925, the State Line refused to agree to proposals for a 10 per cent. general rise in freights. Again, in August 1926, the Commonwealth Line Board " was instrumental in bringing about a general reduction of approximately 10 per cent. on freight rates on commodities exported from Australia to the United Kingdom and the Continent. Confidential documents placed before the Committee prove that this all-round reduction was not a spontaneous action by the other shipowners, but was forced by the determined action of the members of the Shipping Board in Sydney. The annual saving to Australian primary producers and exporters by reason of this reduction alone amounts to far more than the greatest annual loss made by the Line, even including all interest and debenture charges ; and it must be remembered that the greater portion of voyage losses was incurred owing to the unsuitable tonnage transferred to the Board."

In October 1926, there was another attempt to raise freights, this time by 15 per cent., on cargo from the United Kingdom to Australia. The Board of the Commonwealth Line declined to agree. In the national interest they would not raise their freights, and again we are told in the Report : " The annual saving to Australia in this instance again more than covers the annual loss by the Lines, after including all charges, such as interest and depreciation."

It should further be noted that if the Commonwealth Line

had been operated not on the higher scale of Australian seamen's wages but on the lower scale of British seamen's wages, its "loss" of £189,905 for the year 1926–27 would have been converted into a "profit" of £30,000.[1]

During these years, 1924 to 1929, the Australian Labour Party was in opposition—the Nationalists and the Country Party under Mr. Bruce forming the Government. But in 1928 the elections seriously reduced his majority. The state of parties in the Commonwealth House of Representatives before and after the Dissolution was as follows:

	Before.	After.
Government (Nationalist and Country Parties)	51	43
Labour	23	32
Independent	1	....
	75	75

In the summer of 1929, Mr. Bruce was defeated by a combination of the Labour forces and the Hughes malcontents on the question of the arbitration system, and in the ensuing general election, which took place on 12th October 1929, the Coalition was badly beaten, the Labour Party increasing its strength from 32 to 43, which gave it a solid majority over the combined strength of the other two parties. Mr. Bruce resigned, and the Labour leader, Mr. Scullin, was entrusted with the formation of a new Government, which took office on 21st October.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to introduce a new and much more highly protective tariff, partly to provide more revenue to meet the heavy deficit, but chiefly

[1] Page 11, Official Report 132, 11/11/27. There are other State shipping ventures in the British Dominions. The Government of Canada, for instance, runs a Marine Service to the British West Indies in order to keep these islands from falling completely within the economic orbit of the United States of America, and to secure part of the West Indian trade. No one in Canada looks for a money profit for years to come from this service, but the commercial "losses" or risks are, indeed, probably amply justified by other gains. South Africa also has a State steamship service, and a very profitable one.

to stop the "flood of overseas imports" which, in the Labour view, is mainly responsible for the widespread unemployment existing in Australia, and to strengthen the Australian exchange. The new schedules were severely criticised both in Australia and in England, where several trades found Australian markets practically closed to them. Other early steps have been to cut down drastically Australia's expenditure on defence and, in view of the unemployment problem, to suspend assisted passages to emigrants, and to allocate large sums to the States for public roads and construction purposes.

Mr. James Scullin, the present Labour Prime Minister of a continent, was born in 1876, and is one of the most effective debaters in Australia. He succeeded Frank Anstey as Deputy-Leader of the Party in 1927, and Matt Charlton as Leader in 1928. Unlike many members of the Australian Labour movement, Mr. Scullin has an intimate knowledge of the International Labour movement.

The present programme of the Australian Labour Party is as follows:

"The Commonwealth Bank to be developed as a people's bank, as it was originally instituted, branches to be established in all the important centres to assist national development, and earn profits for the whole people.

"Commonwealth fire and life insurance to be undertaken.

"The establishment of an Australia-wide scheme of organised marketing along the lines already in operation in Queensland.

"Provision to be made for national unemployment insurance.

"Immigration to be controlled according to Australia's ability to absorb immigrants.

"Government control of wireless communications broadcast within Australia.

"The Arbitration Act to be revised to allow for the appointment as arbitrators of representatives of employers and employed in each industry."

NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand progress has been on different lines. A Labour Party was formed in the 'eighties, but this was followed by a Liberal-Labour alliance formed largely by the efforts of the Hon. W. Pember Reeves in 1890, when the Labour Party had six Members of Parliament. In 1893, the Liberal-Labour Alliance came into power under the leadership of Richard Seddon, a miner from Lancashire, and under his guidance the coalition ruled the country for thirteen years, winning in all seven consecutive general elections. During this period, New Zealand set the example to the world in socialist legislation. The parliamentary vote was granted to women in 1893, and Factory Acts, Education Acts, and Land Acts followed in succession. The coal mines were nationalised, and in 1903 the New Zealand Government started a State insurance office, which has been conspicuously successful and has not cost a penny piece in taxation.

Meanwhile, the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act was passed in 1893, under which disputes between employers and unions were compulsorily settled by State tribunals. Strikes and lock-outs were virtually prohibited in the case of organised workers, while conditions of employment were often regulated by public boards or courts. This example was followed by New South Wales in 1901, and by other States later. In 1896, 1897, 1898, struggles for the Old Age Pensions Act, which became law in November 1898, ensued. In 1900 the English system of Workmen's Compensation was adopted, with some changes, the chief being that cases are tried in the same court as that for labour disputes.

Seddon died in 1906. After his death, politics became tame, the progressive fire waned. Labour gradually became more and more dissatisfied and began to aspire to independence, whilst the more extreme section, dissatisfied with the action of Labour in coalescing with the Liberals, began to take up Syndicalism.

During the war a Coalition Government was formed, and social legislation was at an ebb. But in 1919 the Coalition

broke up, and Labour held its own in the succeeding election. The Reform Party (Conservative) were, however, returned to office.

In the election of 1922, Labour captured 17 seats in the Lower House out of 84, the Reform Party 44, and the Progressives 23. Three years later, however, the new Reform leader, Mr. Gordon Coates, gained a smashing triumph. Labour was returned with but 12 seats, and the Liberals with 11. It was true that the Labour Party thus became the official opposition for the first time, but it had less political influence than thirty-five years earlier. This reverse was mainly due to the New Zealand fear of strikes.

In the general election of November 1928, the Labour Party gained several seats. The representation before and after the election was as follows :

	Before.	After.
Labour	12	19
Reform Party	52	27
United (Liberal) Party . . .	11	27
Independents	5	7
	80	80

The following month the Coates ministry resigned, and a Liberal ministry was formed with Labour support. The leader of the Labour Party is Mr. Henry Holland, and the policy of the party is briefly as follows :

" The introduction of national health and unemployment insurance.

" The regulation of immigration in accordance with the demand for labour and wage standards in the Dominion.

" The restoration of the wage reduction made by the arbitration court, and the raising of the salaries of public servants. Workers' compensation to be made a national charge.

" The repeal of the compulsory military service law, and

the reorganisation of the present system of defence. More liberal provision for old-age and widows' pensions."

CANADA

Whilst Australia and New Zealand were thus experimenting with strikes and socialist legislation, Canada was showing a sympathy with collectivist action which is surprising in view of the fact that Canada has shown even more resistance to socialist ideas than the United States. In 1911 one socialist member was elected to the Assembly for Vancouver, and by 1926 the number had only increased to four in the Lower House of 245 members.

This inability to convince the electorate of the value of socialism was in part due to the fact that, as in America, rival groups made their appearance and spent much of their time and energy in fighting one another. No national Labour Party has yet been devised, and such Labour candidates as are returned have to fight with only a provincial organisation behind them.

In spite of Canada's refusal to support socialist ideas at the ballot box, the country has been one of the world's leading exponents of collectivism. The tremendous railway system, the largest in the world, and the power system, again the largest in the world, and an infinite variety of business enterprises, from meat packing to the operation of ferry-boats, are under public control.

The Canadian National Railways constitute an excellent example of how, by nationalisation, the failures of capitalist enterprise can be brought round. It is only twelve years ago that the three big railway companies informed the Canadian Government that, unless they received further assistance, they could not carry on. The Canadian Government decided to take over these bankrupt systems, and under State control they have been brought up to a pitch of efficiency and service that make them one of the best and largest railway systems in the world.

In the matter of public control of power systems, Canada again leads the world. Every visitor to Niagara Falls is shown the wonderful power stations belonging to the Hydro-

Electric Power Commission of Ontario, which is owned by the Government of Ontario, and has a capital of £57,000,000. This supplies the cheapest electric power in the world: in the United States, under capitalist enterprise, the average cost of electricity to the domestic consumer exceeds seven cents per kilowatt hour, whereas in Ontario, the corresponding cost is less than two cents; and the same applies to commercial light and industrial power.

It is not at all unlikely that Canada in this respect is blazing the trail that will have to be followed by other countries some years hence.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has shown a similarly collectivist attitude towards railways and steamships. The net profits on the railways, after paying interest on capital, have averaged £850,000 per annum for the last five years (1923–28). The State steamships showed a profit of nearly £30,000 for the year 1927–28.

So much for the financial side; but a more pertinent question is, whether the railways and steamships thus run under State control are more efficient than those under private control? On this question there can hardly be two opinions. Government ownership has developed the railways to the maximum public advantage. Since 1922 new railways have been built at the rate of 250 miles a year, and in 1928 80 million passengers and 21 million tons of goods were carried.

Further, State management has secured fair conditions for employees, and provided facilities for outlying areas which would have been impossible on a purely commercial basis. Here again, these State developments in South Africa have proceeded under non-Socialist Governments; but whereas in Canada there is only a tiny Labour group to assist such developments, South Africa has had for years a strong and vigorous Labour Party, in spite of internal dissensions.

The South African Labour Party came into being shortly after the Union of 1906, and its programme resembled that of the Australian Labour Party, with its emphasis on a

high standard of wages and labour conditions. In 1913 and 1914 labour strikes and riots in the Rand (the stronghold of Labour) resulted in General Smuts, then Minister of the Interior in General Botha's Boer government, arresting the chief Labour leaders and deporting them without trial—his excuse being that " the Government could not run the ordinary risks of the law courts." Not unnaturally this persecution considerably helped the Labour Party, and in the succeeding elections for the Transvaal Provincial Council, Labour gained a majority.

These stern repressive measures were repeated by Smuts in 1922, when 10,000 Labour supporters were arrested during a violent strike again in the Rand. These persecutions produced in the South African Labour Party a fierce hatred against Smuts that was stronger than their socialism; and although Botha and Smuts during their ministries, which lasted from 1910 to 1924, introduced several improvements in the conditions of labour, including accident compensation, arbitration and conciliation schemes, and Acts for the security of workmen's wages, the Labour Party could see little good in any of them. In 1920 General Smuts, who had succeeded General Botha as Prime Minister on the latter's death in August 1919, found himself in a minority as the result of the general election of that year, and formed a Coalition with the Unionists, and the general election of 1921 improved his position in the House. But these tactics led the other parties—the Labour Party under Colonel Cresswell and the Nationalist (Boer) Party under General Hertzog—to make friendly overtures to one another. In 1923 the members of the Labour Party, at their conference at Durban, agreed to the postponement of the socialist objective from their programme, whilst the Nationalists modified their republican ideas. The ensuing pact was regarded by both parties as a wisely conceived political experiment, but fundamentally the two parties had little in common other than their fierce hatred of the Smuts Government. Only under such a primary emotion could such an agreement have been possible.

The ensuing elections of May 1924 were the most vigorous in South African history. In the result the South African

Party, led by General Smuts, suffered a sensational defeat, the figures before and after the election being :

	1923.	1924.
South African Party . .	73	54
Nationalist	46	63
Labour	13	17
Others	3	1

A majority of 11 had been converted into a minority of 27, even General Smuts losing his seat against the combined Nationalist-Labour onslaught.

But the new ministry, in which General Hertzog, the Nationalist leader, was Premier and Colonel Cresswell, the leader of the Labour Party, Minister of Defence and Labour, did not long run well together. In the first year native and labour legislation approved by both was passed, but in 1926 the Flag Bill raised all the old English *versus* Boer passions, until the suddenly inspired compromise of 1927 averted a calamitous breach.

Naturally the coalition of Labour with the Nationalists caused considerable differences in the Labour Party, and before a year had elapsed it had split into two sections : the section led by Colonel Cresswell, which believed in supporting the Nationalists, and the National Council section, which was against such collaboration.

The general election of June 1929 was fought mainly on the colour issue, and the Nationalist Party exploited white prejudice to the full. Their success, however, was not so much due to this as to the split in the Labour Party between the Cresswell and the National Council sections.

The National Council of the party was much more concerned with defeating Colonel Cresswell and his followers, and in establishing the complete dependence of the parliamentary members upon the executive of the party, than with saving the fortunes of the Nationalist-Labour pact. In the result the Nationalists came back with their strength increased from 63 to 77, and the South African Party advanced from 54 to 61. In part these gains were due to the creation of

14 new constituencies, but they were also made at the expense of the Labour Party, which went to the polls holding 18 seats, and emerged with five members pledged to Colonel Cresswell, and three pledged to the National Council. General Hertzog resumed office, with an absolute majority over all parties, and independent of Labour support. The tendency now is for the two Labour sections to unite and to break entirely with the Nationalists.

IRELAND

Three other portions of the British Empire must be mentioned—Ireland, British Guiana, and Palestine—where young socialist parties are in being.

In Ireland, prior to the Acts of 1921 and 1922, which created the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, the Irish Nationalist Party represented practically all Ireland except Ulster. The elections of 1921, however, resulted in the return of an even more nationalist party, the Sinn Fein Party, with 124 seats out of 128. In the following years, however, after the Irish Treaty of 1922 had resulted in the satisfaction of the greater part of Irish nationalistic grievances, the Free State elections of 1923 and 1927 gave the following results—the Sinn Fein Party having split into Government and Anti-Treaty Parties, which latter subsequently split into the Fianna Fail and Sinn Fein sections :

	1923.	1927.
Government	58	46
Anti-Treaty Party (Fianna Fail)	22	44
Anti-Treaty Party (Sinn Fein)	23	5
Independent	16	14
Labour	15	22
Farmer	14	11
Others	5	11

In Northern Ireland, Labour is at present only represented by 1 member out of 48 in the House of Commons, and 1 out of 26 in the Senate, but both in the Irish Free State and in Northern Ireland the Labour Party is a growing force.

In March 1930, a new Labour Party was formed at a special Congress of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress in Dublin, which decided that the party and congress should be divided into two separate and distinct organisations. The new party will maintain close contact with the Labour Party of Northern Ireland, which will continue its separate existence. The change marks a turning-point in the history of the Irish Labour Movement, as a determined effort is to be made to take over the government of the country.

The formation of the new Free State Labour Party as a separate political force has been followed by the announcement that the British National Union of Railwaymen, which has 15,000 members in Ireland, has decided to finance five Labour candidates for the Free State Parliament, and two for the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

BRITISH GUIANA

The Labour Union of British Guiana was formed in 1919, and in 1925 held its first conference. At this conference many of the vital problems confronting the Colony were discussed, including the extension of the franchise (at present restricted by a high property qualification), a minimum wage (made difficult by the tendency of the Indian workers to undercut wages), and child labour, which at present is permitted after the age of nine years.

The most important decision taken by the conference was that in favour of establishing a "Guianese and West Indian Federation of Trade Unions and Labour Parties," and an accompanying resolution urged the need for political federation of the colonies, and the grant to them of "some form of self-government enabling them to conduct their own affairs under a Colonial Parliament with Dominion Status." It was agreed that in the near future a further conference should resume consideration of this and other unresolved problems.

The effect of this conference was to give a stimulus to the workers' movement in these colonies, which, however, was not maintained, for the Labour Union now has only 427 members, and is in financial difficulties.

PALESTINE

Palestine is the headquarters of the Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation Poale Zion, which has branches in all countries where there are a great number of Jews—principally Russia, Lithuania, Rumania, Poland, U.S.A., Belgium, Brazil, etc. Although mainly an organisation for protecting and assisting Jewish interests, it is also socialistic, and assists the socialist movement wherever possible. In Palestine itself its influence is strongest at Tel Aviv, where it has 14 members out of 31 in the municipal council, and its candidate has been elected Mayor.

The total membership of the Federation in 1928 was 22,500, of which 4000 were in Palestine, 5000 each in U.S.A. and Poland, 3000 in Russia, and approximately 1000 each in Lithuania, Rumania, Argentine, and England.

The main objects of the Federation in Palestine are a general minimum wage, uniform legal regulation of working conditions, and the extension of co-operative farming colonies.

INDIA

Whilst there is thus considerable socialist activity in many parts of the British Empire, it is practically non-existent in many of the smaller colonies and in the great Empire of India. But while India has no socialist organisation of importance, there has been recently sporadic Communist activity among artisans and students, the aim being to effect an alliance against the British connection between Communists and Nationalists. In March 1929 a number of Communist leaders were arrested in various centres, and the Government introduced a Public Safety Bill for the expulsion of immigrant agitators. The action of the Speaker, Mr. Patel, in refusing to allow this to be discussed in the Legislative Assembly, led the Viceroy to assume the powers implied by the Bill in an ordinance.

The All-India Trade Union Congress at Nagpur in 1929, resulted in the secession on 2nd December of the Moderates, who repudiated Russian dictation and formed a non-Communist Union, supported by twenty-four unions, whilst the

extremists decided to boycott the Royal Commission, appointed by the British Parliament to study Indian Labour problems, which arrived in India in the autumn.

The Indian National Congress at Lahore, in December 1929, was notable for a fervid declaration by the President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who frankly confessed himself a Socialist-Republican. He recognised, he said, that it might not be possible for a body like the Congress to adopt a free socialist programme in the present circumstances. "But we must realise that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society, and that almost the only point now in dispute is the pace and the methods of advance of socialism."

A strikingly interesting feature of post-war international socialism was the creation of a British Commonwealth Labour Conference, which was first held in 1924. For the Third Conference, held in London in July 1928, delegates fromc ongresses of the Labour Parties and Trade Unions of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Great Britain, India, Ireland, Palestine, South Africa, and Trinidad were present, while the New Zealand Alliance of Labour and Labour Party, the Rhodesian Labour Party, and the British Guiana Labour Union sent fraternal greetings.

Subjects such as Racial Problems, Inter-Commonwealth Relations, and World Peace were discussed amicably, but in the discussion on India the Indian delegation withdrew, as a protest against British Labour participation in the Simon Commission.

The Fourth Conference, held in London in July 1930, was attended by delegates from Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, Ireland, India, and the West Indies. The Conference was held in private, and although no resolutions were passed, there was a frank interchange of information between the delegates, especially on the subject of Inter-Commonwealth Relations.

CHAPTER XXI

A General View of Socialism

WE have, in the preceding chapters, sketched the rise and the principles of the leading schools of historic socialism, the growth and difficulties of the Internationals, and the gradual extension of socialist theory and practice into nearly every European country and many other civilised States. Our task now is to inquire into the significance, tendency, and value of the general movement. The problem is one of historical interpretation in the widest sense of the word. It is not an academic question which can be settled by the scholarly comparison of texts and systems, nor is it a complete and finished movement which can be a subject of sympathetic analysis and generalisation. The socialistic movement is not complete; it is in process of making, and, in truth, only in its early stage. It is a question, therefore, which must be treated not only in the light of history and human nature, but with special reference to past and present prevailing forces—industrial, political, social, and ethical.

The history of modern socialism can be divided roughly into three distinct phases. First, the theoretic-Utopian phase of Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier, when the spokesmen of socialism had such faith in human nature that they believed that special societies could be set up which would produce the socialist commonwealth in a remarkably short space of time. The experiments of Owen and the early French socialists, as well as those of the Australian pioneer, Lane, all belong to this phase.

Then came revolutionary socialism, with Marx and Engels as its scientists, and finally Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin as its greatest exponents. It may be said to have begun with the

Communist Manifesto of 1848, and to be at its zenith at the present time in Russia.

The third phase is constitutional socialism, of which Lassalle was perhaps the first actual organiser, Jaurès, MacDonald, Fisher, Branting, Stauning, and Vandervelde the principal politicians, and Sidney Webb the chief thinker.

The first phase has died out, but it had a not unimportant influence on the history of the nineteenth century, and largely contributed to the following results :

Firstly, it helped to give a prevalence to the historical conception of political economy, since the very basis of socialism is social-economic change. Their subject naturally led socialists to study the growth and decline of economic institutions.

Secondly, theoretic socialism deepened and widened the ethical conception of political economy. In season and out of season, it taught that the entire technical and economic mechanism of society should be made subordinate to human well-being, and that moral principles should be supreme.

Thirdly, socialism brought the cause of the poor most powerfully before the civilised world. It is one of the enduring results of socialistic agitation and discussion that the interests of the suffering members of the human race, so long ignored and so fearfully neglected, have become a question of the first magnitude, the foremost question in all progressive countries. It is this question which gives a substantial basis and a real meaning to the great democratic movement, which it would be the gravest of all errors to regard as a merely political struggle. Whereas not many years ago the policy and principles of government took little account of the masses of people, it is now a recognised duty of the State to care for them. So complete has the transformation been, that it will soon require a considerable knowledge of history to realise it, for the times when the claims of the lower orders were ignored are already beginning to pass out of the memory of even the oldest members of the community.

How narrow was the conception of the pre-socialist economists, such as the elder Mill, Ricardo, and Malthus, may be gathered from a speech delivered by Mr. Baldwin, the

Conservative leader, in the House of Commons on 13th March 1930 :

" The elder Mill and Ricardo and Malthus have indeed left a deeper mark on the thought of the country than almost any three men who ever lived. They were men of remarkable ability in elucidating many difficult questions of economic and of social theory, but when they are taken as practical guides in practical life, no three men are more misleading for us to follow. I always think—and there is a great deal of foundation for my view—that many of the worst evils of the whole industrial system may be traced to the work of those three men, and the interpretation of that work when it got into popular circles and was expanded and expounded throughout the country, and I will tell the House exactly what I mean.

" They began their work at the most critical time of the industrial revolution, and at that time there were no regulations, as you know, of any kind in labour. The system was new, it was untried, and no man knew the direction in which the country was going with such appalling speed. There has lingered among the working classes, who at that time were not educated, a tradition, subconscious, but none the less there—the tradition of the old Elizabethan doctrine which lingered in the beginning of the last century, that it was a rightful charge on the State to protect the interests of the poor labourer.

" Now the economists would have none of that. That had to give way, with all the mercantilism of the Whigs. They were out for a clean sweep, and that went ; and not only did it go, but they denounced the working classes for their ignorance in clinging to these old, worn-out theories, and they warned them as to the results of what they called their short-sighted folly when they pressed for the things which they wanted at that time, such as inspection and supervision of factories and things like that, that we accept to-day as every-day occurrences ; and the whips that they used to scourge them with were the theory of the wages fund and the Malthusian theory of population. In the attainment of absolute *laissez-faire*, they considered only the piling up of

wealth, either, on the one hand, of the individual or the wider consideration of the national interest, and the national interest and the interest of the individual have to be considered equally with the piling up of wealth. At that time—and it is a curious thing to think of—the economists were in the position of men who were giving the logical and the intellectual support to the nascent capitalism of the time. They did the propaganda work for capitalism, and they thought, the capitalists of that time, that it was their right to enjoy perfectly free play ; and that right became in practice an excuse for neglecting their duty.

" A very curious feature of that is this, that the economists of that time got a kind of intellectual domination over the House of Commons. . . . Now in the House of Commons, after the Napoleonic Wars, you will find that for many years nothing was done, nothing was attempted, in the direction of regulating labour—not because there were not men there who would not have taken that cause up with eagerness, but because the House of Commons was so impressed by the skill, the ability, and the intellectual power of the many gentlemen who told them that, if they took any steps of that kind, it could only result in the ruin of the country."

That conception of political economy was smashed by the socialist theorists.

Fourthly, socialism created a searching criticism of the existing social-economic system. It may be said to have laid its diagnosing finger on all the sores of society. All fair-minded judges will admit that the socialist criticism of the capitalist system of the nineteenth century was largely, if not substantially, justified on the following points :

1. The position of the working people was not in harmony with ethical ideas. It was often a position of degradation, demoralisation, and misery. The lot of the labourer was insecure, dependent, and to a large degree servile. The workmen had no reasonable control of their dearest interests ; no guarantee of a settled home, of daily bread, and of adequate provision for old age. They possessed a delusive freedom which had no solid economic basis.

2. The prevailing competitive system was to a large degree anarchy. This anarchy had two great and baneful modes of expression : strikes, which are a form of industrial war, carrying misery and insecurity over large sections of population, and sometimes menacing the industrial and social life of a whole nation ; and the commercial crises, which at times have had even a more disastrous influence, spreading like a storm over the entire civilised world, overthrowing honourable houses of business, and exposing to hopeless ruin millions of honest people who are in no wise responsible for their fate.

3. The prevailing system also led to the development of an idle class of the most motley description, some rich and some poor, and all a burden on the workers who maintained them.

4. Thus we are led to the general result that inequalities of condition, and the too prevalent anarchy and insecurity, as well as the unworthy status of the workers under the competitive system, were a permanent source of trouble and even danger to society.

The circumstances of the workman have certainly improved since ; but it is doubtful whether the improvement has kept pace with their advancing enlightenment and the growing sense of their rights and needs. Here again we must emphasise the fact that the progress of democracy is not merely a political matter. It means still more the continual development of intelligence and of higher and finer needs in the mass of the people, a fuller consciousness of the claims of labour, a greater capacity for organisation and a wider moral and intellectual horizon.

Scarcely any reasonable man, therefore, will deny that socialism has done excellent service to mankind in so strongly emphasising the necessity for further progress. While it has largely helped to rouse the working classes out of their apathy, it has also done much to dispel the comfortable optimism of those who had succeeded in the competitive struggle of existence.

Even a cursory review of theoretic socialism is enough to show that, while it has been prolific of new thought in economics, it has been disfigured by every kind of extravagance.

The early theorists especially were profoundly ignorant of the laws expressing the evolution of society, and many later socialists of great influence have been too absolute in their condemnation of capitalism. In fact, their general position consists far too much in a sweeping condemnation of the present system, forgetful the while that it is only out of the present that the future, in which they place their hopes, can proceed.

But the extravagances of the historic socialism are so obvious that we need not dwell on this aspect of our subject. We must remember that most historic systems have had to run themselves clear of the turbid elements with which they were originally mixed.

Taking the political history of the last century as a whole, it is obvious that patriotism was a much greater power than socialism. Countries as diverse as Canada, Germany, Ireland, Serbia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Italy are remarkable examples of this in various ways, and until the nationalist aspirations of a people are settled, there seems to be little room for socialistic theories. But a people having established themselves as a nation, next seek democratic control of their Governments. Hence Democratic Liberalism. But with universal suffrage—or even before this stage is reached—there begins the movement for the democratic control of industry —though this is frequently weak in those countries where individual opportunities are great and where the capitalist system does not result in tremendous hardships for the worker, as in America.

Hence one of the main reasons why socialism made so little progress in the nineteenth century was because the national idea was the stronger. Socialism plus pacifism did not appeal to the working man who had been taught that trade followed the flag.

Another reason was that in each of those countries which provided a suitable soil for socialism—*e.g.* countries where the people had attained nationality, and where the capitalist system caused hardships and suffering—the rulers checked the growth of socialism, in some cases by repressive measures, and in other cases by socialistic reforms, such as Factory

Acts, Insurance Acts, Pensions Schemes, etc. By these means the sharpest criticisms of the capitalist system were blunted in England, Germany, and one or two other countries. The domestic history of recent time in almost every civilised State is the record of concessions made, not because the leaders of either of the great parties particularly approved of them, but because they were demanded by large sections of voters.

The pre-war statesmen of Germany have been more consistent; for when they inaugurated their schemes of State socialism they frankly proclaimed their adhesion to its principles. In this they were encouraged by the old law of Prussia, which recognised the duty of the State to provide subsistence for those who could not make a living, and labour for those who were out of employment. The position of the old Prussian Kingdom was such that it had to foster the full strength of the State by all available means, and therefore could not afford to neglect any considerable portion of its population. In his State socialism, therefore, William II. could appeal with some show of reason to the traditional policy of Prussia. But it was really a new departure. Its leading principles were announced in an Imperial message to the Reichstag in November 1881. Besides the repressive measures deemed necessary to restrain the excesses of Social Democracy, the Emperor declared that the healing of social evils was to be sought in legislation for the good of the working man. The measures proposed were for the insurance of the workmen against accident, sickness, old age, and inability to work, by arrangements under State control. "The finding of the right ways and means for this State protection of the working man is a difficult task, but also one of the highest duties that concern every society standing on the ethical foundations of the Christian national life." The Imperial programme has been realised. Other countries have followed suit, from Great Britain to the newest European States.

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, however, the influence of socialistic thought on the civilised world was mainly in the region of opinion. Only in one country, New

Zealand, had socialists actually tasted the joys of office, and the world had yet to see a Socialist Party in a majority in any State. Consequently, the twin phases of post-Utopian socialism—the revolutionary and the constitutional, were practically united against the common foe of capitalism, which still held the field. In the first fifteen years of the new century, in spite of differences between Marxian (revolutionary) and anti-Marxian (constitutional) socialism, and the eruptions of anarchism and syndicalism, the movement was fairly united, and was growing stronger in every civilised country. Australia in this period saw several Labour Governments which did not bring the "red ruin" that was predicted, and in France, Germany, and Sweden there was every indication that socialism would soon hold the reins of office.

Then came the war, and the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which caused the final and irreparable split between the revolutionary socialists and constitutional socialists the world over; for the revolutionary socialists now became open communists, and it cannot be too strongly pressed that in ideals, methods, and aspirations communists and socialists are poles asunder. The communist ideal is the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship based on force; the socialist ideal is the establishment of the socialist commonwealth by consent of the governed.

This second phase of the socialist movement—revolutionary socialism—which has thus changed into communism of a type that even Marx never foresaw—is one that has not added greatly to world progress. From the historical point of view it is perhaps unfortunate that we can only judge communism by the particular brand of communism that obtains in Russia, since Russia, through the ages, has been a State not easily comparable with other States.

The third phase of socialism, however, the constitutional phase, after the setbacks of 1914–19, caused by its ambiguous attitude towards the war and the successive Left wing splits, is a phase that has not yet reached its zenith. During the course of the last decade nearly a dozen countries have had Socialist Governments—for the greater part Minority Govern-

ments—and it is true to say that in no case have the fullest hopes of the early theorists of the movement been realised. Nevertheless, Owen's co-operative ideal has proved amazingly successful, and it is possible that other ideals will be realised when Socialist Governments have a longer trial.

During these last thirty years, constitutional socialism has made astounding strides in Australia, Austria, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Great Britain, France, Esthonia, Germany, Latvia, South Africa, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, in each of which countries the Socialist Party or Parties, in spite of persecutions, have been or are the largest in the State. France and Germany have imprisoned their socialists; Russia and other countries have executed their socialists or exiled them; America has ridiculed them; but whatever the penalty, socialism, despite temporary set-backs, has gone on from strength to strength. Its opponents may laugh it to scorn, may accuse its supporters of being traitors and a hundred even less beautiful epithets, but socialism has spread to every civilised country in the world. Everywhere we find the same story —first one or two enthusiasts, then a slow process of organisation; premature attempts to attain parliamentary power, which generally ended in defeat; then repressive laws and persecutions; at length steady growth, hundreds of votes becoming thousands, hundreds of thousands, and sometimes millions. Finally, the Socialist Party becomes the largest in the State and even captures supreme power, as in Australia, Germany, Finland, Sweden, and England. Then comes the curious anti-climax—the opposing parties begin to fight socialism either by dictatorships or by socialism itself. In England, for instance, the Liberals in 1906 added the socialist measures of Old Age Pensions and Industrial Insurance to their programme. Later on, in 1926, the Conservative Government passed the Widows' and Orphans' Pensions Bill that had been advocated by the Labour Party for twenty years. Thus socialism, by converting Conservative and Liberal Parties to its own programme, can achieve its end.

The above list of countries shows that socialism is strongest in Northern and Central Europe and the Antipodes. By

contrast it is weakest in America and Asia. Hence it cannot be described as a Teutonic, an Anglo-Saxon, or a Latin movement—it is continent wide, and continent feeble.

The post-war decade has proved with tremendous force that the Utopian dreams of the early socialists have faded, and that in their place an ideal of parliamentary power, of legislative enactments, has arisen. Time after time it will be seen that the hope of the various socialist parties of the world is no longer to build up the Socialist Commonwealth or "Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land," but rather to get this or that enactment passed. Denmark, for instance, has concentrated upon disarmament; Austria, Germany, and Great Britain on factory legislation, minor schemes of nationalisation, the unemployment problem, and the race for world trade.

In the case of Great Britain, the socialist ministry of 1929–30 has lasted for eighteen months, but the European record is held by M. Stauning's ministry in Denmark, which was in office for two and a half years. Norway has had the shortest socialist ministry (if one excludes M. Chautemps two-day ministry in France), for the ministry of M. Harnarud, formed in January 1928, ended in a fortnight.

It now remains to consider what constitutional socialism has achieved in the last half-century. First of all, it has definitely checked the evils of the old unbridled capitalist system, though much still remains to be done in this field. It has achieved this, not only through its own organisation and party machinery, but also in the effect it has had upon other political parties. Factory legislation, the eight-hour day, improved working conditions, old age, health, and unemployment insurance are all the result of socialist agitation.

Secondly, it has provided an alternative in nationalisation to the combines and monopolies of the present capitalist system. Only the State is powerful enough to control these mammoth creations of modern industry, and the socialist principle of State control has been accepted by countries as widely divergent as Canada and Esthonia.

Thirdly, it has given the working man a greater share in the responsibility of government. Throughout the world,

socialists, with perhaps the one remarkable exception of Belgium, have favoured universal suffrage, and have supported the Liberal-Democratic movement in this respect to the fullest possible degree. Further, by means of trade unions and party organisations, they have made it possible for working men to take part in the executive control of the nation. In every socialist or semi-socialist cabinet there has been a fair proportion of working men, and the effect of this on the mass of workers is incalculable.

But as yet no country has achieved anything approaching the Socialist Commonwealth of the theorists. The main efforts of socialist administrators and statesmen so far has been to remove the worst hardships of the capitalist system and to strive to attain universal peace by international understanding. No one has yet evolved a forecast in detail of the structure of the ideal socialist community; possibly we should get a different picture from every socialist. "Common ownership" may mean, for instance, State ownership, municipal ownership, ownership by quasi-public trusts, guilds or unions. All want the abolition of poverty, unemployment, and social classes, and a more equitable distribution of wealth, political power, and educational facilities. Possibly the nearest attempt at getting down to hard facts is contained in Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth*, where he sketches a revised constitution in which there will be both political and industrial parliaments. When asked for any grounds that may be brought forward for believing that the socialistic ideal is becoming a reality, we can, however, point not only to symptoms or tendencies, but also to definite results on a scale commensurate with the development of modern industry.

These tendencies and results are large, most significant, and visibly increasing. The following are the main lines along which they may be observed:

1. The extension of the powers of the State or the Municipality.

As every one knows how greatly the range of State and Municipal action for the common good has been extended in recent years, we need not dwell on this aspect of our

subject. But in what we have to say it will be convenient to consider the State and the Local Authority together, as they are really complements of each other.

It may not be a new thing in theory, that the State should be an association for the promotion of the common interests of all its members, or that the municipality should be an association for the general good of the inhabitants of a locality; but it is new in practice. It is only during the last half-century that the people who form the majority of every society have received any reasonable consideration from the organs of the State.

In the Antipodes, and in many European countries, Socialist Governments have socialised industries; occasionally Conservative or Liberal Governments have done it—in which case there have been examples of State enterprises conducted by political ministers who did not in theory believe that the enterprises could be successful. "The most striking social phenomenon in the world to-day is the steady, remorseless, persistent development and expansion of public ownership. The profiteers and their political parties and their newspapers may rage and misrepresent. What matter? Here, there, and everywhere nations steadily enlarge the area of their publicly owned business: they take over functions where private profiteering has failed to meet the national necessities, and the success of one State in a particular venture encourages, and sometimes compels, other States to follow suit." [1]

In the Antipodes there has been evolved a socialism which both in theory and practice has most fully recognised that the State is an association for the promotion of the well-being of the whole people. New Zealand, one of the youngest of the English dominions, is the finest example of such a State. The State in New Zealand owns and works railways, coal mines, and telephones. It has made advances of money at low rates of interest to settlers, and passed legislation to break up large estates. The laws for the protection of labour have been elaborated to a high degree. It adopted the method of settling labour disputes by compulsory arbitration, and was the first country to enact an old-age pension scheme. It has

[1] *The Success of Nationalisation*, by T. Johnson.

introduced a complete system of local option in the drink trade, a public system of life insurance and of medical care, and it set up a public trustee with very wide and beneficent powers, an experiment which the Mother Country has followed with great success. These are examples—brilliant, successful examples—of State socialism, which have been followed in the last twenty years by many other States.

2. Let us now consider a further form of socialism, that of the Co-operative Society or association of consumers.

Co-operation for some time made comparatively little progress, but when we consider how painfully capital, experience, and skill had to be acquired by the workers, we should rather be surprised at the advance that has been made in so many progressive countries. It is a partial realisation of the socialist ideal in that it is production for use, and the complete abolition both of profits and of competition. Its strongest point is that it has arisen directly out of the people and remains completely under their control.

There are three forms of co-operation: (1) co-operation of consumers; (2) co-operation by producers jointly owning and controlling the capital they use; (3) co-operation of independent, usually small, producers for special purposes.

In Great Britain the dominant form of co-operation is the first. The Rochdale Pioneers in 1844 devised the plan of subscribing capital to found a store, and returning the profits, after paying a fixed interest on the capital, to the purchasers in proportion to the amount of their purchases. Payment of dividend on purchases was the master-key which opened the door to success. In 1927 there were in Great Britain 1351 retail societies with a membership of five and a half millions, with a capital of £106,577,861 and sales amounting to just under £200,000,000.

A later development was the Co-operative Wholesale Trading Societies, which are to the stores what the store is to the individual. These are gigantic trading, manufacturing and banking concerns, owned exclusively by the Stores, producing and purveying the goods they require, and paying its profits to them again as a dividend on purchases. Thus it will be seen that all the profits of manufacture, and of wholesale and

retail trading, after paying a fixed interest on the capital (which also belongs to the members), are returned to each purchaser as a quarterly dividend on the amount of his purchases, who therefore gets goods at the actual cost price. These General Distributive Wholesale Societies have a capital of £13,771,250, and in 1927 produced goods to the value of £36,000,000. Consumers' co-operation is in complete consonance with the principles of socialism, and is the only form of socialism by private enterprise of which modern socialists can wholly approve. It has recently made great progress on the Continent.

The second form of co-operation, the self-governing workshop, where the capital is (or rather purports to be) owned by the workers, is a very different matter. In the first place, it is a singularly unsuccessful form of industrial organisation: only here and there have productive co-operative societies had a long life and any commercial success. Secondly, it is hardly ever true to type. The capital is not, in fact, owned by the workers in any large proportion. It is usually supplied by Consumers Co-operative Societies, or benevolent private persons. Thirdly, it is not in accordance with the principles of socialism: it does not abolish the profits on capital, but merely, in theory, distributes them amongst a number of workpeople who are also small capitalists, and in fact allocates them in the main to outside shareholders, exactly as is done by an ordinary joint-stock company.

The third form of co-operation, mainly confined to agriculture and fisheries, prevails in countries where small farming is the rule, such as Germany, Denmark, and of late years England, Scotland, and Ireland. Co-operative societies for making butter, selling eggs, buying manures and machinery, and providing capital (credit banks), all for their members, who are usually small owners or occupiers, have proved immensely successful abroad. In 1927 there were 713 Agricultural and Fishermen's Produce Societies in Great Britain, with sales totalling nearly £14,000,000. These societies usually adopt the Rochdale plan of dividends on business transacted for the members. They have come to stay; they are not in opposition to the principles of socialism, but they deal with

a form of industry to which socialism, as at present worked out, does not exactly apply.

In Belgium and Denmark, as explained elsewhere, co-operation and socialism have always gone hand in hand. In England the two movements did not combine for political purposes until 1927. Like political socialism, co-operation is extending rapidly in every civilised country of the globe, and is the one effective check to the influence of multiple stores.

It is clear that socialism in practice has made a wide and deep impression on the opinion of most countries of the civilised world. Socialism is the only real challenge to capitalism. Whatever the issue may be, it is very improbable that reasonable men will ever again regard the competitive system of economics with the same satisfaction as formerly. The mere fact that we can survey and analyse great ideas and institutions with critical objectiveness is a proof that we are looking back upon them, and that we have already left them behind on the onward march of progress. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the orthodox political economy, if it exist anywhere, survives only in old books and in the minds of a diminishing band of doctrinaires.

Socialism is still coloured, to its detriment, by excessive loyalty to Marx, and the views of Marx were shaped by a time which has passed away. In his Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx declares that the proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains. It has been the unfortunate destiny of his followers to forge new chains for the working class in the shape of dogmatic materialism, a rigid and abstract collectivism, and ultra-revolutionary views which still hamper it in the task of emancipation. The promptitude with which the emancipators of the human race have forged new chains is strange enough. Still stranger is the readiness men have shown in putting them on! Indeed, the followers of Marx have gone farther in this way than their chief.

The goal of the whole movement is the control of the means of production and the machinery of exchange. Such a conception ascribes too much importance to the economic factor. This, of course, is most important, but the cardinal thing in socialism is the living and active principle of association, and

the essential thing for the working man to acquire is the capacity and habit of association. This type of industrial organisation has been well set forth by J. S. Mill in these words : " The form of association, however, which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and workpeople without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations." The development of socialism must, therefore, mainly follow the development of large industry.

Finally, let us remember that the social democracy is still in its youth. The Socialist Parties of most European countries have sprung up since 1870. They have had, through much labour and tribulation, to shape their organisation, principles, and policy.

The Socialist Parties, with their programmes, represent a strenuous and painful process of thought and organisation, and a comparison of the Gotha programme of 1875 and the Erfurt programme of 1891 with the British Labour Party's programme of 1929 (all of which are given as an Appendix) shows how constructive socialism has developed its views. Through the Trade Unions the ill-informed, untrained, suspicious, and turbulent democracy of labour has been drilled into habits of common action. How much of enthusiasm and high principle, of persevering toil and patient attention to detail, has been put into the co-operative movement !

It must be particularly emphasised that nothing adverse to a reasonable patriotism, to religion, marriage, or the family, is now found in the programmes of Socialist Parties or in the resolutions of Congresses. The International and the Socialistic Parties clearly recognise that their task is the emancipation of labour, and that it is of an economic and political nature. Those who mix up this great problem with questions of religion and marriage do so on their own responsibility. They have no right to speak on behalf of socialism, and have no influence or authority beyond what they may personally possess.

It is a most serious mistake to suppose that there can be any real antagonism between the ethical and spiritual teaching of Christianity and the principles of socialism, rightly understood. A right comprehension of the Christian ideal would bring the Churches to use their influence against the continuance of the struggle for existence in the capitalist system, and in favour of the less fortunate who, in the course of that form of struggle, have been driven to precarious wage-labour as their only means of livelihood.

Some of the prominent spokesmen of the Church have clearly seen that the capitalist system is not consistent with Christian teaching. As we have already mentioned, Maurice and Kingsley denounced the Manchester school, started the Christian Socialist movement of 1848, and gave a very considerable impetus to co-operation.

In recent years all the sections of the Church of England have felt the influence of the democratic movement, and have shown a commendable interest in social questions. A like interest has been shown in many Nonconformist quarters. There is, however, one noteworthy difference between the attitude of organised Christianity to the socialist movement in England and on the Continent. In Germany, Austria, Belgium, Mexico, and elsewhere, the Catholic Church is the rival, and therefore the enemy, of Social Democracy. Catholic Trade Unions especially are hostile to the Socialist Trade Unions, and often refuse to co-operate with them in labour disputes. In fact, much of the social activity of the continental Churches is an attempt to provide the workmen with a counter-attraction to the benefits provided by Social Democracy.

Socialism rests on the great ideals of freedom and justice, of brotherhood and mutual service—ideals that remain as a far-shining goal to provoke and encourage the endeavours of men to attain them. We cannot lower them, but we should be grateful for every sincere attempt to reach them, for every successful step towards them. Socialism does not aim at the extinguishing or superseding of the self-regarding principle —that is impossible and absurd. It seeks to regulate it, to place it under social guidance and control and to establish

social service as the main field for emulation, rivalry, and ambition. The waste and demoralisation, the injustice and cruelty, which have been so rife under the capitalist system, are passing away. But socialism must work for much more than the mere abolition of evil. It must make for the positive and integral development of the highest human abilities, and must create a long and widening avenue of progress, along which the improvement of mankind will be continued in a peaceful and gradual, yet most hopeful, sure, and effective way. Such a prospect is the most effectual counteractive to restlessness, discontent, and all the evils and excesses of the revolutionary spirit. May we not, with Saint-Simon, believe that the Golden Age is not behind but before us ?

APPENDIX I

The Gotha Programme, 1875

I. Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture, and as useful work in general is possible only through society, so to society, that is to all its members, the entire product belongs ; while, as the obligation to labour is universal, all have an equal right to such product, each one according to his reasonable needs.

In the existing society the instruments of labour are a monopoly of the capitalist class ; the subjection of the working class thus arising is the cause of misery and servitude in every form.

The emancipation of the working class demands the transformation of the instruments of labour into the common property of society and the co-operative control of the total labour, with application of the product of labour to the common good and just distribution of the same.

The emancipation of labour must be the work of the labouring class, in contrast to which all other classes are only a reactionary mass.

II. Proceeding from these principles, the socialistic working men's party of Germany aims by all legal means at the establishment of the free state and the socialistic society, to destroy the Iron Law of Wages by abolishing the system of wage-labour, to put an end to exploitation in every form, to remove all social and political inequality.

The socialistic working men's party of Germany, though acting first of all within the national limits, is conscious of the international character of the labour movement, and resolved to fulfil all the duties which this imposes on the workmen, in order to realise the universal brotherhood of men.

In order to prepare the way for the solution of the social question, the socialistic working men's party of Germany demands the establishment of socialistic productive associations with State help under the democratic control of the labouring people. The productive associations are to be founded on such a scale both for industry and agriculture that out of them may develop the socialistic organisation of the total labour.

The socialistic working men's party of Germany demands as the basis of the State :

I. Universal, equal, and direct right of electing and voting, with secret and obligatory voting, of all citizens from twenty years of age, for all elections and deliberations in the State and local bodies. The day of election or voting must be a Sunday or holiday.

II. Direct legislation by the people. Questions of war and peace to be decided by the people.

III. Universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies.

IV. Abolition of all exceptional laws, especially as regards the press, unions, and meetings, and generally of all laws which restrict freedom of thought and inquiry.

V. Administration of justice by the people. Free justice.

VI. Universal and equal education by the State. Compulsory education. Free education in all public places of instruction. Religion declared to be a private concern.

The socialistic working men's party demands within the existing society :

1. Greatest possible extension of political rights and liberties in the sense of the above demands.

2. A single progressive income-tax for State and commune, instead of the existing taxes, and especially of the indirect taxes that oppress the people.

3. Unrestricted right of combination.

4. A normal working-day corresponding to the needs of society. Prohibition of Sunday labour.

5. Prohibition of labour of children, and of all women's labour that is injurious to health and morality.

6. Laws for the protection of the life and health of work-

men. Sanitary control of workmen's dwellings. Inspection of mines, of factories, workshops, and home industries by officials chosen by the workmen. An effective Employers' Liability Act.

7. Regulation of prison labour.

8. Workmen's funds to be under the entire control of the workmen.

APPENDIX II

The Erfurt Programme, 1891

THIS was the most developed expression of socialist principles put forth by working men in the nineteenth century. The translation is from the Protokoll or verbatim report of the party meeting at Stuttgart, in 1898, to which it is prefixed :

" The economic development of the bourgeois society leads by a necessity of nature to the downfall of the small production, the basis of which is the private property of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production, and transforms him into a proletarian without property, whilst the means of production become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners.

" This monopolising of the means of production is accompanied by the supplanting of the scattered small production through the colossal great production, by the development of the tool into the machine, and by gigantic increase of the productivity of human labour. But all advantages of this transformation are monopolised by the capitalists and great landowners. For the proletariat and the declining intermediate grades—small tradesmen and peasant proprietors —it means increasing insecurity of their existence, increase of misery, of oppression, of servitude, degradation, and exploitation.

" Ever greater grows the number of the proletarians, ever larger the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the chasm between exploiters and exploited, ever bitterer the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial lands.

"The gulf between rich and poor is further widened through the crises which naturally arise out of the capitalistic method of production, which always become more sweeping and destructive, which render the general insecurity the normal condition of society, and prove that the productive forces have outgrown the existing society, that private property in the means of production is incompatible with their rational application and full development.

"Private property in the instruments of production, which in former times was the means of assuring to the producer the property in his own product, has now become the means of expropriating peasant proprietors, hand-workers, and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers, capitalists, and great landowners in the possession of the product of the workmen. Only the conversion of the capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of communication—into social property, and the transformation of the production of wares into socialistic production, carried on for and through society, can bring it about that the great production and the continually increasing productivity of social labour may become for the hitherto exploited classes, instead of a source of misery and oppression, a source of the highest welfare and of all-sided harmonious development.

"This social transformation means the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the entire human race which suffers under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the labouring class, because all other classes, in spite of their mutually conflicting interests, stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have as their common aim the maintenance of the bases of the existing society.

"The struggle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot conduct its economic struggle, and cannot develop its economic organisation, without political rights. It cannot effect the change of the means of production into the possession of the collective society without coming into possession of political power.

"To shape this struggle of the working class into a conscious and united one, and to point out to it its inevitable goal, this is the task of the Social Democratic Party.

"In all lands where the capitalistic method of production prevails, the interests of the working classes are alike. With the extension of the world commerce and of the production for the world market, the condition of the workmen of every single land always grows more dependent on the condition of the workmen in other lands. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilised countries are equally interested. Recognising this, the Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

"The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore contends, not for new class privileges and exclusive rights, but for the abolition of class rule and of classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties of all without distinction of sex and descent. Proceeding from these views it struggles in the present society, not only against exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex, or race.

"Proceeding from these principles the Social Democratic Party of Germany now demands:

"1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage, with vote by ballot, for all men and women of the Empire over twenty years of age. Proportional electoral system; and, till the introduction of this, legal redistribution of seats after every census. Biennial legislative periods. Elections to take place on a legal day of rest. Payment of representatives. Abolition of all limitation of political rights, except in the case of disfranchisement.

"2. Direct legislation through the people, by means of the right of initiative and referendum. Self-government of the people in Empire, State, Province, and Commune. Officials to be elected by the people; responsibility of officials. Yearly granting of taxes.

" 3. Training in universal military duty. A people's army in place of the standing armies. Decision on peace and war by the representatives of the people. Settlement of all international differences by arbitration.

" 4. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress the free expression of opinion and the right of union and meeting.

" 5. Abolition of all laws which, in public or private matters, place women at a disadvantage as compared with men.

" 6. Religion declared to be a private matter. No public funds to be applied to ecclesiastical and religious purposes. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations which manage their own affairs in a perfectly independent manner.

" 7. Secularisation of the school. Obligatory attendance at the public people's schools. Education, the appliances of learning, and maintenance free in the public people's schools, as also in the higher educational institutions for those scholars, both male and female, who, by reason of their talents, are thought to be suited for further instruction.

" 8. Administration of justice and legal advice to be free. Justice to be administered by judges chosen by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation for those who are innocently accused, imprisoned, and condemned. Abolition of capital punishment.

" 9. Medical treatment, including midwifery and the means of healing, to be free. Free burial.

" 10. Progressive income and property taxes to meet all public expenditure, so far as these are to be covered by taxation. Duty of making one's own return of income and property. Succession duty to be graduated according to amount and relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other financial measures which sacrifice the collective interest to the interests of a privileged minority.

"For the protection of the working class the Social Democratic Party of Germany demands:

"1. An effective national and international protective legislation for workmen on the following bases:

"(*a*) Fixing of a normal working day of not more than eight hours.

"(*b*) Prohibition of money-making labour of children under fourteen years.

"(*c*) Prohibition of night work, except for those branches of industry which from their nature, owing to technical reasons or reasons of public welfare, require night work.

"(*d*) An unbroken period of rest of at least thirty-six hours in every week for every worker.

"(*e*) Prohibition of the truck system.

"2. Supervision of all industrial establishments, investigation and regulation of the conditions of labour in town and country by an imperial labour department, district labour offices, and labour chambers. A thorough system of industrial hygiene.

"3. Agricultural labourers and servants to be placed on the same footing as industrial workers; abolition of servants' regulations.

"4. The right of combination to be placed on a sure footing.

"5. Undertaking of the entire working men's insurance by the Empire, with effective co-operation of the workmen in its administration."

APPENDIX III

The British Labour Party's Programme, 1929

I.—Industrial Legislation

1. The Repeal of the Trade Unions Act and the Restoration of Trade Union Rights.
2. The establishment of a 48-hour week.
3. The improvement and extension of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Workmen's Compensation Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, and other industrial legislation.
4. The establishment and enforcement of international labour standards.

II.—Unemployment

1. The establishment of adequate provision for unemployed workers, under the control of a National Authority.
2. The amendment of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, the establishment of the scale of benefits recommended by the Labour Party in its evidence before the Blanesburgh Committee, and the extension of the principle of Unemployment Insurance to classes of workers at present outside its scope.
3. The withdrawal from the Labour market of children under 15, with the necessary provision of maintenance allowances.
4. The improvement of the provision made for widows and orphans and for the veterans of industry.
5. The repeal of the Eight Hours Act in the coal industry.
6. The transference and migration of unemployed miners.
7. The establishment of a superannuation scheme for aged miners.

III.—The Development of Industry and Trade

1. The establishment of a National Economic Committee to advise the Government as to economic policy, and of a National Development and Employment Board to prepare schemes for the development of national resources.
2. The control of the Bank of England by a public Corporation, including representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour, and the Co-operative Movement; the encouragement of Co-operative and Municipal banking; the promotion of an International Conference, as proposed at Genoa in 1922, with a view to the regulation of the value of gold by international agreement; and the introduction of such further changes in the banking and financial system as will secure that the available supply of credit and savings is used to the greatest national advantage.
3. The transference to public ownership of the coal, transport, power, and life insurance industries.
4. The appointment of a Commission to prepare a scheme for the reconstruction of the cotton industry.
5. The relief of industry by the readjustment of the relations between national and local finance and by the taxation of land values.
6. The protection of the consumer against exploitation, and the extension of the powers of the Food Council.
7. The establishment of the fullest possible publicity with regard to costs and profits.
8. The promotion of scientific research, with a view to the improvement of industrial technique.
9. The extension of the powers of the Economic Section of the League of Nations.

IV.—Agriculture and Rural Life

1. The transference of land to public ownership.
2. The establishment of security of tenure for efficient farmers.
3. The provision of credit on easy terms.

4. The stabilisation of prices by the collective purchase of imported grain and meat.
5. The elimination of waste by the development of collective marketing.
6. The establishment of efficient services of electrical power and transport in rural areas.
7. The protection of the agricultural worker by the establishment of an adequate minimum wage, effectively enforced, and of reasonable hours of labour.
8. The improvement of the services of health, housing, and education in rural districts.
9. The provision of facilities for the acquisition of land.
10. The development of the fishing industry, and the improvement of the conditions of fishermen and their dependents.

V.—The Development of the Social Services

1. The passage of legislation to enable the larger local authorities to undertake such services as their citizens may desire, subject to due safeguards in respect of efficiency and capital expenditure.
2. The provision of an adequate supply of houses at rents within the means of the workers, the establishment of cottage homes for the aged, the continuance and strengthening of the Rent Restriction Acts, and the prevention of profiteering in land and building materials.
3. Slum clearance and the extension of town and regional planning.
4. The provision of medical care before and after child-birth, and the extension and improvement of the school medical service.
5. The amendment of the Health Insurance Acts, and the extension of insurance, including additional medical benefits, to the dependents of insured workers and to sections of the population at present outside its scope.
6. The improvement of pensions for the aged and of the allowances provided for widows and orphans.

VI.—Education and the Care of Childhood

1. The creation of a democratic system of education, adequately financed, free from the taint of class distinctions, and organised as a continuous whole from the Nursery School to the University.
2. The fullest possible provision for the physical well-being of children, by the establishment of the necessary number of open-air Nursery Schools, other open-air schools, and special schools for defective children, by the extension of school meals, and by the further development of the school medical service.
3. The adequate staffing of Primary Schools and the drastic reduction in the size of classes.
4. The improvement of school buildings, and the provision of books, equipment, and amenities on a generous scale.
5. The regrading and development of education in such a way as to secure primary education for all children up to 11, and free secondary education, of varying types, for all children above that age.
6. The extension of the school-leaving age to 15, with a view to its being raised to 16 as soon as that further reform shall be practicable, and the necessary provision of maintenance allowances.
7. The establishment of easy access to Universities and to other places of higher education, and the provision of adequate financial assistance for them.

VII.—Financial Policy

1. The progressive reduction of expenditure on armaments.
2. The abolition of taxes upon the necessaries of life and of protective duties.
3. The increase of the death duties upon large estates.
4. The further graduation of the income tax so as to relieve the smaller, and increase the contribution from the larger, incomes.
5. The establishment of an additional graduated surtax on incomes from property of over £500 per annum.
6. The taxation of land values.

VIII.—International Peace and Co-operation

1. The renunciation by international treaty, without reservation or qualification, of the use of war as an instrument of national policy, and the negotiation through the League of Nations of international agreements.
2. The reduction of armaments, by international agreement, to the minimum required for police purposes, with due provision for the employment elsewhere of workers who are displaced, and opposition to compulsory military service.
3. The immediate signature of the Optional Clause, the consequent acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable disputes, and the signature of the General Act of Arbitration, Conciliation, and Judicial Settlement, drafted and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928.
4. The repudiation of the agreement with regard to military and naval forces which the Conservative Government has attempted to negotiate with France.
5. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Rhineland.
6. The promotion of international economic co-operation, as recommended by the International Economic Conference of 1927, and cordial co-operation with the International Labour Office.
7. The establishment of the fullest possible publicity with regard to international relations and policy, the publication of any international agreement not yet disclosed, or disclosed only imperfectly, and the submission of all international engagements to the House of Commons.
8. The systematic use of the League of Nations to promote the utmost possible measure of co-operation between the nations of the world.
9. The establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian Government.

IX.—The British Commonwealth of Nations

1. The establishment of the closest possible co-operation, on terms of complete equality, between Great Britain and the Dominions.
2. The recognition of the right of the Indian people to self-government and self-determination, and the admission of India to the British Commonwealth of Nations on an equal footing with the self-governing Dominions.
3. The establishment of safeguards against the exploitation of indigenous peoples by European capital, the development among them of the services of health and education, and their preparation, by all possible means, for full self-government at the earliest practicable date.
4. The strengthening and extension of the authority of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.
5. The development, in co-operation with the other States composing it, of the economic resources of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the establishment of machinery for the advice and supervision of intending emigrants.

X.—Political Democracy

1. The maintenance of the unquestioned supremacy of the House of Commons.
2. Uncompromising resistance to the establishment of a Second Chamber with authority over finance and power to hamper the House of Commons and defeat democratic decisions.
3. The abolition of plural voting.
4. The establishment of full civil and political rights for Civil Servants.
5. Drastic legislation against corrupt practices at elections, and the abolition of practices which confer special political advantages upon wealth.
6. The establishment of complete publicity with regard to Party funds, and the termination of the practice of selling so-called honours.
7. The creation of separate legislative assemblies in Scotland, Wales, and England, with autonomous powers in matters of local concern.

INDEX

Adler, Dr. Victor, 135–7, 154–5, 168, 189, 241.
Adler, Friedrich, 154, 168, 248.
Afghanistan, 267.
Albert, M., 23, 25.
Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, 101.
Alexander II., Emperor of Russia, 100, 101, 105.
Alexander III., Emperor of Russia, 105–6.
Allemane, Jean, 130.
Allen, William, 6, 9.
Alsace-Lorraine, 153, 167.
America, Central and South, 259–61.
American Federation of Labour, 166, 253–6.
American Socialist Party, 255–7.
Angell, Norman, 158.
Anseele, 153.
Anstey, Frank, 280.
Arago, M., 25.
Argentine, 239–41, 259, 289.
Armenia, 239, 241, 267.
Asia, 244, 262–7, 300.
Asquith, H. H. (Lord Oxford), 115.
Auer, Ignace, 86–7.
Australia, 220, 246, 257, 262, 268–81, 283, 290, 298–9.
Australian Labour Party, 270–81, 283, 285.
Austria, 168, 188–9, 191–2, 194–6, 226–8, 230, 239–43, 299–300, 307.
Austria-Hungary, 35, 38, 60, 77, 83, 95, 135, 137, 147, 153–5, 158–9.
Austrian Social Democratic Party, 168, 188–96.
Aveling, Dr. Edward, 113, 116.
"Azev" case, 108.

Bakunin, Mikhail, 40, 45, 46, 95–8, 100, 103–4.
Baldwin, Stanley, 292.
Ball, John, 115.
Barbès, 26.
Barnes, G. N., 124, 158, 167.
Barth, Herr, 173.
Barton, Sir Edmund, 273.
Basly, M., 213.
Bastiat-Schulze, 66–7 *n.*, 73.
Bauer, Gustav, 170, 197.
Bax, Belfort, 113, 116.
Bazard, 15, 16.
Beaconsfield, Lord. *See* Disraeli.
Bebel, August, 78–82, 84, 86, 90–3, 131, 156.
Becker, Bernhard, 76.
Beesley, Professor, 39.
Belgium, 42, 138–9, 153–4, 158–9, 164, 167, 170, 188, 210–11, 239–45, 289, 299, 301, 305, 307.
Bell, Richard, 123–4.
Bellamy, 254.
Benson, Allan, 256.
Bentham, Jeremy, 6.
Berger, Victor, 255–7.
Bernstein, Eduard, 86, 87, 162.
Besant, Mrs. Annie, 117.
Besteirro, Julien, 233.
Bismarck, Prince, 58–60, 73, 77, 80, 83–6.
Bissolati, 134.
Blanc, Alexandre, 166.
Blanc, Louis, 22–8.
Blanqui, 26, 40, 130.
Blatchford, Robert, 127, 157.
Blum, Léon, 213.
Boeckh, August, 60.
Boncour, Paul, 213.
Bonomi, 134.
Botha, General, 285.
Bourses du Travail, 130.
Bradlaugh, Charles, 117.
Branting, Hjalmar, 141, 166, 200–1, 292.
Bravo, Mario, 260.
Brazil, 246, 289.

Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 170, 179.
Briand, Aristide, 131.
British Guiana, 239, 241, 288.
British Guiana Labour Union, 288, 290.
British Socialist Party, 127, 167.
Brizon, M., 166.
Brouckère, Louis de, 211.
Brousse, Paul, 129–30.
Bruce, Stanley, 277–9.
Bryan, J., 255.
Bukharin, 180, 184–5.
Bulgaria, 143–4, 160, 170, 234–5, 239–41, 246.
Burns, John, 116, 118, 122, 158.
Burrows, Herbert, 113.
Burt, Thomas, 123.

Cabet, 26.
Cachin, Marcel, 174, 213.
Calles, President, 260–1.
Cameron, 43.
Campbell case, 217.
Canada, 268–9, 279, 283–4, 290, 296, 300.
Cavaignac, General, 26–7.
Ceylon, 290.
Charles, King of Hungary, 234.
Charlton, Matt, 280.
Chautemp, M., 300.
Chile, 261.
China, 241, 246, 266–7.
Christian Socialists, 12–13, 113.
Clarke, William, 117 *n.*
Clemenceau, M., 166.
Clynes, J. R., 216.
Coates, Gordon, 282.
Cobden, 4.
Cole, G. D. H., 222.
Collier, 273.
Combe, Abram, 9.
Considérant, 26.
Cook, 276.
Co-operative movement, 13, 139, 221–2, 303–5.
Courland, 179.
Crane, Walter, 116.
Cresswell, Colonel, 285–7.
Crooks, Will, 123.
Czecho-Slovakia, 181, 191, 227, 239–41, 296, 299.

Daladier, M., 215.
Dale, Miss, 6.
Danneberg, Robert, 193.
Dantzig, 239, 241.
Darwin, 102.
Das Kapital, 36 *n.*, 46–55, 67.
David, Herr, 171.
Davidson, Thomas, 116.
Debs, Eugene V., 255, 257.
Denekin, General, 180.
Denmark, 83, 140–1, 155, 188, 202, 206, 206–9, 239–1, 243, 245, 299–300, 304–5.
Der Burgerkrieg, 44.
Diamand, Dr. Herman, 226–7.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 114–15.
Dittmann, Herr, 173.
Dönniges, Fraulein von, 71–2.
Drakoulis, Dr., 144.
Drenteln, General, 104.
Duhring, Professor, 49.
Dzerjinsky, 180, 183.

Ebert, Friedrich, 93, 156, 163, 171–3, 197.
Edén, Professor Nils, 200.
Eisenach Party, 82.
Eley, Professor R. T., 254.
Elmslie, 271 *n.*
Enfantin, 15–16.
Engels, Friedrich, 31, 33–5, 47, 49, 52, 57, 77, 92, 110, 135, 291.
England. *See* Great Britain.
Erfurt programme, 74, 150, 306, 312–14.
Erzberger, 164, 169.
Esthonia, 224, 239–41, 299–300.

Fabian Society, 116–20, 128, 177, 220.
Faure, Paul, 165.
Ferdinand, Archduke Franz, of Austria, 153.
Fernandez, Juan, 261.
Fichte, 92.
Finland, 107–8, 148, 179, 188, 204–6, 224, 239–41, 243, 299.
Fischer, Richard, 86.
Fisher, Andrew, 274–5, 292.
Floçon, 23.
Follette, Senator La, 257.
France, 35, 38–9, 42–5, 56, 63, 80, 83, 97, 129–31, 133, 137–8, 147, 153–4, 156–60, 165–6, 169, 174, 177, 179–81, 212–15, 239–43, 298–9.
Frederick William IV. of Germany, 31.
Freiligrath, 57.

French Socialist Party, 212, 213, 242.
Fourier, François Marie Charles, 2, 10, 14, 16–20, 28, 31, 48, 92, 102, 252, 291.

Gapon, Father, 106.
Garibaldi, 113.
Garnier-Pagès, 25.
George, Henry, 111–13.
German Social Democracy, 56–93.
Germany, 16, 35–6, 38, 42–3, 56–93, 132, 137–8, 147, 149, 153–169, 173, 178–9, 181–2, 188–9, 196, 200, 204, 230, 239–43, 296–300, 304, 307.
Gil, Señor, 261.
Gillies, 272.
Giolitti, Giovanni, 134, 232.
Glasier, Bruce, 153–4, 160.
Goethe, 102.
Gomez, General, 260.
Gotha programme, 306, 309–11.
Gould, F. G., 113 *n.*
Graham, Sir James, 4.
Grayson, Victor, 124.
Great Britain, 1–13, 36, 42, 45, 56, 63, 76, 87, 94, 109–15, 120, 129, 137–8, 140–1, 147–54, 157–9, 167, 177, 179, 181–2, 188, 216–23, 239–42, 245, 250, 268, 276–8, 280, 289–90, 299–300, 303–7.
Greece, 143–4, 230, 234–5, 239, 241.
Guesde, Jules, 129, 131–2, 154, 157, 165, 212, 213.
Guild Socialism, 222.

Haakon VII., King of Norway, 142.
Haase, Hugo, 93, 154–63, 173.
Harnarud, M., 300.
Hardie, J. Keir, 121, 123–4, 128, 148, 154, 157–8, 216, 274.
Hasenclever, 82, 87.
Hatzfeldt, Countess, 56–7, 69.
Haywood, William D., 255.
Headlam, Rev. Stewart D., 113.
Hearnshaw, Professor, 178 *n.*
Hegel, 32, 92.
Heine, 33, 56.
Henderson, Arthur, 123–4, 158, 167–9, 220, 241.
Herriot, M., 214.
Hertling, Count, 168–9, 170.
Hertzog, General, 285–7.
Hervé, Gustave, 132, 154, 157, 212.
Hobson, S. G., 222.
Holland, 16, 45, 138–40, 153, 159–60, 228–9, 239–42, 246.
Holland, Henry, 282.
Hollweg, 164, 170.
Holyoake, F., 9.
Horthy, Admiral, 234.
Hughes, William, 276, 279.
Hungary, 43, 155, 191–2, 224, 230, 234, 239–40, 241.
Huysmans, M. Camille, 149.
Hyndman, H. M., 2, 3 *n.*, 113–16, 118.

Ibanez, Colonel, 261.
Iceland, 241, 246.
Iglesias, Señor Pablo, 143, 233.
Independent Labour Party, 121–4, 127–8, 222–3.
India, 220, 246, 250, 267, 269, 289–90.
Industrial Workers of the World, 255.
International, First, 33–4, 39–46.
International, Second, 131, 145–60.
International, "Two and a Half," 152.
International, Third, 152, 159–60, 167.
International, Labour and Socialist, 229–30, 238–42, 246, 248.
International Labour Office, 249–51.
International Peace Conference, 166.
Ireland, 246, 287–8, 290, 296, 304.
Irigoyen, President Hipolito, 260.
Iron Law of Wages, 35, 50–1, 63.
Irving, 154.
Italy, 38, 42, 97, 133–4, 137, 147, 153–4, 160–1, 166, 181, 230–3, 239–40, 242–3, 296.

Japan, 95, 180, 246, 250, 262–6.
Jaspar, M., 210.
Jaurès, Jean, 130–3, 154–5, 157, 174, 212, 292.
Jewish Labour and Socialist Federation Poale Zion, 289.
Jowett, F. W., 160, 174.
Jugo-Slavia, 224, 230, 234–5, 239–40, 246.

Kameneff, 184.
Kant, 92.
Karachan, 184.
Karakozoff, 101.
Karpoff, Colonel, 108.
Katayama, Professor Sen, 262.
Kautsky, Karl, 87, 156.
Kennedy, T., 153.
Kent, Duke of, 8.
Kerensky, Alexander, 172, 175–6, 178–9.
Kingsley, Rev. Charles, 12–13, 110, 307.
Kitchener, Lord, 274.
Knight, Edward W., 117 *n.*
Korea, 246.
Kotoku, Dr., 263.
Kropotkin, Prince, 97–9.
Kropotkin, Prince, Governor of Charkoff, 104.
Kun, Bela, 234.

Labour Party, British, 123–8, 157–8, 167–8, 174–5, 182, 216–23.
Labour and Socialist International, 229–30, 238–42, 246, 248.
Labour and the Nation, 317–22.
Lafargue, Paul, 129, 132.
Lamartine, 23–7, 172, 175.
Landsberg, 173.
Lane, William, 270, 291.
Lansbury, George, 127.
Lassalle, Ferdinand, 32, 36, 38, 56–79, 82–4, 87, 92, 102, 135, 292.
Latvia, 224, 227–8, 239–41, 299.
Lawrence, Martin, 183.
Ledebour, 156, 172.
Ledru-Rollin, 23, 25.
Lenin, Alexander, 106.
Lenin, Vladimir, 105–7, 160, 176–9, 180–4, 187, 291.
Leroux, Pierre, 26.
L'Humanité, 213.
Liebe, O., 207.
Liebknecht, Karl, 153, 154, 156, 161–3, 171–2.
Liebknecht, Wilhelm, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 90, 92, 135.
Lipari Islands, 243.
Lithuania, 160, 224, 239–40, 241, 246, 289.
Litvinoff, 184.
Lloyd George, D., 180, 276.
Longuet, Jean, 154, 165, 174.
Lopukhin, 108.
Louis XVIII. of France, 21, 23.
Ludendorff, General, 164.
Luther, Martin, 78.
Luxembourg, Rosa, 154, 161.
Luxemburg, 147, 239–41.
Lvoff, Prince George, 175–6.

Macdonald, Alexander, 122.
MacDonald, J. Ramsay, 115, 123–4, 128, 157–8, 174, 182, 216–22, 292.
Malatesta, Enrico, 135.
Malon, Benoît, 129.
Malthus, 11, 292–3.
Mann, Tom, 118, 270.
Mannerheim, General, 205.
Marie, M., 24–5.
Marx, Karl, 10, 31–57, 67, 72–3, 75–8, 82, 85–8, 90, 92, 96, 102, 110–16, 118, 132–3, 177 *n.*, 178, 220, 252, 291, 298, 305.
Maurice, Rev. F. D., 12–13, 110, 307.
Maurois, André, 114 *n.*
Max, Prince, of Baden, 170–2.
Mazzini, 39, 97, 113.
McCormack, 272.
Melo, Dr. Leopoldo, 260.
Mexico, 260, 307.
Mezentseff, General, 104.
Michaelis, Dr., 165, 168.
Michelesen, Ch., 142.
Michell, J. E., 172 *n.*
Mill, John Stuart, 102, 110–11, 220, 292–3, 306.
Millerand, Alexandre, 130–1.
Molkenbuher, Hermann, 86.
Morel, E. D., 158.
Morelly, 14 *n.*
Morley (Lord), John, 158.
Morocco, 148.
Morones, Señor Luis, 260–1.
Morris, William, 99, 113, 115–16.
Müller, August, 165.
Müller, Herman, 154, 156, 200.
Munich, 170.
Mussolini, Benito, 225, 231–2.
Mustapha Kemel Pasha, 236.

Napoleon I., Emperor of France, 70, 87, 183.
Napoleon III., Emperor of France, 26–8, 65, 80.

Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, 290.
New Zealand, 268, 281–3, 290, 297–8, 302.
Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, 7, 95.
Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, 175, 204.
Nihon-Rodo-Sodomei (Japanese Federation of Labour), 264, 266.
Noble Order of the Knights of Labour, 253–4.
Norway, 141–2, 160, 181, 188, 202–3, 239–40, 243, 299–300.

Obregon, General, 260–1.
Odger, George, 121 *n.*
Olivier, Lord, 117.
Owen, Robert, 2, 5–14, 17, 20–1, 92, 102, 110, 252, 291.

Paasch, Dr., 91.
Painlevé, M., 166.
Palestine, 239, 241, 246, 287, 289–90.
Patel, 289.
Pease, Edward R., 117.
Peel, Sir Robert, 4.
Penty, A. G., 222.
Persia, 148, 267.
Pilsudski, Marshal, 225–6.
Plehve, M., 108.
Plekhanov, 106, 153.
Poincaré, M., 214.
Poland, 43, 94–5, 101, 160, 179, 224–7, 230, 239–40, 241, 243, 289.
Ponsonby (Lord), Arthur, 158, 174.
Portugal, 143, 149, 230, 233–4, 241.
Proudhon, Pierre Joseph, 22–30, 33, 40, 42, 95.
Prussia, 32, 58–9, 64, 72, 77–80, 85, 90, 164, 297.

Racowitza, Count von, 71.
Radel, 184.
Raffin-Dugens, 166.
Raspail, 26.
Reeves, Hon. W. Pember, 281.
Reid, Sir George, 273, 275.
Renaudel, 174.
Renner, Dr. Karl, 189, 191.
Repetto, Nicolas, 260.
Repossi, 153.
Reybaud, 10.
Rhodesian Labour Party, 290.
Ricardo, 50–1, 63, 292–3.
Rodbertus, Johann Karl, 31, 35–8, 73.
Roosbroeck, M. van, 241.
Roosevelt, Theodore, 255.
Rubanovitch, 153.
Rubio, Señor, 261.
Ruhle, 163.
Rumania, 143, 160, 234, 239–41, 289.
Ruskin, John, 113.
Russia, 55–6, 94–109, 147, 149, 153–4, 156–7, 159–60, 169, 172, 175–87, 194, 196, 204, 221, 237, 239, 242, 244, 289, 292, 298.
Russian Socialist Party, 166.
Ryan, 272.
Rykoff, 185.

Sadoul, Jacques, 212.
Saint-Simon, Comte Henri de, 2, 10, 14–17, 20–1, 28, 31, 92, 102, 291, 308.
Saklatvala, 219.
Sandler, Richard, 202.
San Francisco, 187.
Sarolea, Professor, 178 *n.*
Sassonlitsch, Vera, 104.
Scheflo, 203.
Scheidemann, Philipp, 91, 154, 163–4, 171–3.
Schulze-Delitzsch, 62, 65, 68–9, 74.
Schweitzer, J. B., 77–82.
Scullin, James, 279.
Seddon, Richard, 281.
Seipel, Dr., 192.
Sembat, Marcel, 132, 154, 157, 165, 213.
Serbia, 143, 153–5, 159, 296.
Sergius, Grand Duke, 108.
Serrano, General, 260.
Shackleton, David, 123.
Shaftesbury, Lord (Lord Ashley), 4.
Shaw, G. Bernard, 117, 120, 177 *n.*, 220.
Sinn Fein Party, 287.
Skrynski, 225.
Smith, Alfred, 257.
Smuts, General, 285–6.
Snowden, Philip, 124, 128, 158, 174, 216–17, 222.

Social Democratic Federation, 113–16, 122–3, 127.
South Africa, 268, 284–7, 290, 299.
South African Labour Party, 284–6.
Spain, 38, 42, 46, 97, 143, 155, 177, 230, 233, 239–41, 243.
Spence, Thomas, 2, 3.
Spencer, Herbert, 102.
Stählberg, Professor, 205.
Stalin, 183–6, 291.
Stauning, M., 140, 207, 209, 292, 300.
Struve, 106.
Sturgkh, Count, 168.
Sun Yat Sen, Dr., 266–7.
Surplus value, doctrine of, 10–11, 47–9.
Suzuki, 266.
Sweden, 140, 142, 160, 181, 188, 200–2, 239–41, 243, 298–9.
Switzerland, 36, 42, 81, 87, 92, 95, 97, 98, 103, 104, 143, 154, 160, 177, 229, 240–1, 299.
Syndicalism, 130, 134–5, 215.

Tanner, Herr V., 205.
Tennyson, Lord, 115.
Theodore, 272.
Thomas, Albert, 157, 165–6, 179, 250.
Thomas, Norman, 257.
Tibet, 267.
Tillett, Ben, 118.
Tokoi, M., 204.
Tölcke, 76.
Tolstoy, Leo, 99–100, 109.
Tomsky, 185–6.
Trepoff, General, 104.
Trevelyan (Sir), Charles, 158, 174.
Trinidad, 290.
Trotsky, Léon, 176–8, 180, 183–5, 244, 291.
Turgenief, 101.
Turkey, 148, 169, 230, 235–6, 239, 267.

Ukraine, 234.
Unified Socialists (France), 153–6, 166, 174, 212–15.
Union of Democratic Control, 158.
United States of America, 36, 43, 45, 95–6, 152–8, 239–40, 260, 262, 268, 279, 283, 289, 296, 300.

Vaillant, 148, 153–4, 157.
Vandervelde, Emile, 133 *n.*, 138, 211, 241, 292.
Varenne, 154.
Vitos, 225.
Viviani, René, 131, 157.
Vliegen, 153.
Vollmar, 87.

Waldeck Rousseau, M., 131.
Wallas, Graham, 117.
Warm, 173.
Watson, Hon. J. C., 273–4.
Wauters, Joseph, 153, 159.
Webb, Sidney (Lord Passfield), 117, 119, 220, 292, 301.
Weill, George, 153.
Weitling, William, 252.
Wells, H. G., 125.
Wels, Otto, 171.
Westphalen, Jenny von, 32.
William I., Emperor of Germany, 83.
William II., Emperor of Germany, 86, 171, 297.
Wilson, President, 169–70, 256.

Yuan Shi Kai, 266.
Yugo-Slavia, 241.

Zahle, C. T., 207.
Zimmerwald Conference, 174, 177, 191, 229, 237.
Zimmerwaldians, 165–7.
Zinovieff, 180, 183–4, 218.

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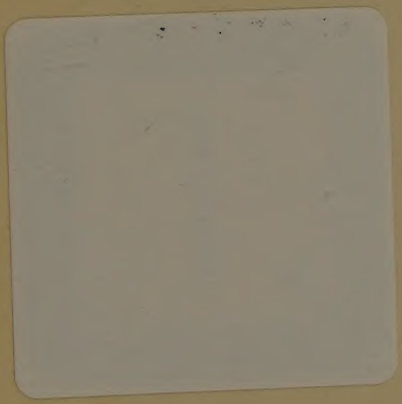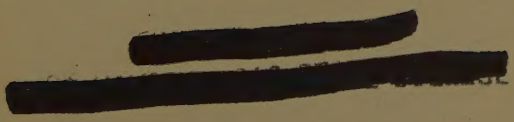
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